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The National Capital

Newspaper Articles and Speeches Concerning the City of Washington

BY

THEODORE W. NOYES.

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Some of Washington's Grievances.

A DOLEFUL CRY FROM THE PAST.

Washington's Woful Story—Ante-Natal Grievances—Attempts Upon Its Life—Harsh Treatment and Inadequate Support—The Nation's Ward Starved by Its Guardian.

From the Washington Evening Star, February 18, 1888.

Modern cities, though they never yield to mere old age, are often said to be born, to grow to maturity, and to die like persons. They are similarly afflicted with the diseases of infancy. Many a promising young city succumbs to municipal colic, to the gripings of an unwise economy or "old fogy" stinginess, or to municipal fever, with its flush of apparent health and vigor, and its subsequent exhaustion when this fictitious strength has disappeared. It is the latter disease which fills mining regions with the cadavers of cities. After a brief and feverish existence their frames moulder unburied on the mountain sides, cold, inanimate, startling to the solitary traveler. Man's vicissitudes of fortune are not denied to cities. They are rich, poor, extravagant, industrious. Some are born "sucking a silver spoon," blessed in situation and natural resources. Others find life a series of difficulties, sometimes overcome by the indomitable energy which turns a bog into the firm foundation of dwellings, and views a vast destruction by fire as a mere clearing of the ground to make room for edifices handsomer than those destroyed. But more frequently early disadvantages and misfortunes overcome the prospective city, just as circumstances of birth and training often pervert or destroy the higher capacities of the thief's or pauper's offspring. Cities also display a diversity, almost human, in manner of

development. The mining town matures rapidly. The rumor of gold produces a maturity as precocious in cities as that developed by the heat of a tropical sun among persons. Other cities increase in strength slowly but surely. Their lives are long, and often in dying they leave to the world another city sprung from themselves, retaining the ancestral name. Thus it has been suggested, in substance, that Rome is the eternal city, because it is a series of Romes, each with a distinct existence. Death comes in as varied shapes to cities as to persons, and there is a like variety in the resistance offered. Mineral deposits fail, rich "finds" are made a hundred miles away, and a Leadville dies and goes to decay within a year. War, fire and pestilence wound but do not destroy the commercial city, which finds its mortal stroke in a change in the direction of the flow of trade.

Cities, then, in certain aspects of their material development and decay resemble persons. If the analogy might be carried further, and human emotions be ascribed to personified cities, Washington, finding a tongue, could give utterance to a woful autobiography.

ANTE-NATAL GRIEVANCES.

This recital of grievances would find a beginning in events which occurred previous to the city's birth. While, ordinarily, neither individuals nor municipal corporations can complain of ill-treatment at a time when they had no existence, the capital on the Potomac may perhaps be excused for indulging in a feeble, preliminary wail over the difficulties which it experienced in being born at all. And this privilege should be granted the more readily in view of the fact that many subsequent evils can be traced to their sources in events of the ante-natal period.

The location of the national capital was a subject of contention between North and South and between several different states of these sections. The claimants of the honor of providing the permanent seat of government were made unyielding in their demands by state pride and state

jealousy, and sectional animosities added to the bitterness of the controversy. The subject was a fruitful source of wrangling in the Congress assembled under the articles of confederation. This body met in some one of half a dozen different places, according as convenience suggested or necessity compelled, and from time to time it named a permanent location, only to reverse its decision when the subject was next discussed. The proposed site on the Potomac, supported by many southern members, was rejected more than once. In 1783 a location on the Delaware was preferred to one on the Potomac, and in 1784 a commission was appointed to select a site upon the former river. This selection was not made, however, and the contention was bequeathed to the first Congress meeting under the Constitution. The wrangle soon became more heated than ever before. The claims of Philadelphia, Germantown, Havre de Grace, Wright's Ferry, on the Susquehanna, and a location on the Potomac were most strongly urged. On September 5, 1789, the House, by a vote of 31 to 19, passed a resolution fixing the permanent seat of government on the Susquehanna, an action which aroused the bitterest feelings among the Southern members and caused Mr. Madison to affirm his belief that if a prophet had started up in the Virginia convention and foretold the proceeding, Virginia would not have been a party to the Constitution. The Senate inserted Germantown, instead of a site on the Susquehanna, as the seat of government. The House coincided in the amendment, and the Capitol would perhaps be now standing in Germantown had not an amendment, affecting the location in no respect, carried the bill back to the Senate, where it failed to receive consideration during the remainder of the session. In the next year this phase of the wrangle was ended. The persistency of Mr. Madison and other Southern members carried the day, but a bargain was necessary to secure the required votes. The bill for the assumption of the state debts by the national government, which was also originally supported by a minority, was passed in conjunc-

tion with a bill to locate the capital on the Potomac by a "log-rolling" arrangement between Hamilton and Jefferson. In July, 1790, the House, by a vote of 32 to 29, and the Senate, by a vote of 14 to 12, decided in favor of the Potomac. After ten years of preparation for the event, during which period a site was selected by President Washington, a board of commissioners contended against obstinacy and avarice in some of the original proprietors of the soil, and work on several public buildings was begun, Washington as the national capital came into being. From its cradle it was surrounded by enemies eager for its life. President Washington was taunted with sordid motives in causing the capital to be placed near his estates on the Potomac. The bargain by which the question was settled was denounced as fraudulent and corrupt, and each disappointed and incensed claimant of the capital prize in this legislative lottery awaited a chance to gratify revenge and to test the fortune of a new drawing by strangling the successful competitor.

The first grievance, then, of Washington—the city controlled exclusively by Congress, the ward of the nation—is that from its tenderest years its nerves have been unstrung, its growth retarded, and its constitution undermined by a well-founded terror, due to

THE ATTEMPTS UPON ITS LIFE

and the threats of sudden and violent destruction made from time to time by its guardian. Like the hero of "Great Expectations," the capital was brought up "by hand," and its guardian was forever "on the rampage." From the day in 1800 when the archives of government were brought from Philadelphia in "seven large boxes and four or five smaller ones," and an army of fifty-four office-holders swelled the population of the city, there have been periodical attempts to remove the seat of government, and such removal would have meant, of course, the death of Washington. An Englishman named Weld, who visited the future capital in 1796, says: "Notwithstanding all that has been done at the

city and the large sums of money which have been expended, there are numbers of people in the United States living to the north of the Potomac, particularly in Philadelphia, who are still very adverse to the removal of the seat of Government thither, and are doing all in their power to check the progress of the buildings in the city, and to prevent the Congress from meeting there at the appointed time." Those who had thus opposed the removal to Washington were the same who now endeavored to effect a second removal, and who, as part of their policy, sought to keep the city in a condition which would serve as an argument in favor of the change. As a sample of the attacks upon the infant capital, hear a new "Crito," in his "Letters on the Seat of Government," published in 1807: "In the meantime, be it known to the good people of the Union, from New Hampshire to Georgia (for I may presume, without fear of contradiction, that ninety-nine hundredths of the youth of the United States grow up to manhood without ever having seen the capital of their country), that the national bantling called the City of Washington remains, after ten years of expensive fostering, a rickety infant, unable to go alone. Nature will not be forced. A sickly child cannot be dressed and dandled into a healthy constitution. This embryo of the state will always be a disappointment to its parents, a discredit to the fond opinions of its worthy god-fathers and god-mothers, and an eyesore to all its relations to the remotest degree of consanguinity." Crito's advice, in conclusion, is to remove the seat of government to Philadelphia, "the very focus of foreign and domestic intelligence." Crito's method of using as an argument in favor of death the sickly condition of the nation's "bantling," caused by

HARSH TREATMENT AND INADEQUATE SUPPORT

on the part of its constitutional protectors, seems to have been popular. To neglect the infant, to threaten it constantly with destruction, and then to urge its consequent feebleness as a reason for killing it outright, was a favorite

policy with its enemies. After the capture and partial burning of the city by the British in 1814, a misfortune caused mainly by the failure of the government, in spite of remonstrance, to provide it with adequate defenses, a vigorous attempt was made by Americans to complete the work of destruction begun by the British. In the course of the debate at that time upon the expediency of removing the seat of government, Representative Lewis of Virginia complained that for the last ten or twelve years similar attempts had been made, the effect of which was to create alarm and paralyze improvement to the great injury of the public. He pointed out that hundreds and thousands of individuals had been induced from a perfect confidence in the permanency of the seat of government to expend their all in its improvement, who would be reduced to beggary and want by a removal. A committee to whom the subject was referred reported a resolution, "That it is inexpedient to remove the seat of Government at this time from Washington city." A motion to strike out "inexpedient" and insert "expedient," after a tie vote of 68 to 68, was decided in the affirmative by the speaker. The report, as amended, was referred to the committee of the whole house and was passed after debate by a vote of 72 to 71. When the bill was reported to the House, Philadelphia was inserted as the future capital, and in the end, on the question of engrossing the bill for a third reading, it was lost by a vote of 83 to 74. This account of one of the alarming movements which frightened the young capital out of many a year's growth, may serve as a suggestion of those which followed. If the stale allusion to the experience of Damocles is ever justifiable, this is the occasion, for the city, in very truth, lived and grew with a threatening sword suspended over its head. The latest assault of vigor by capital-movers was that made in 1869 in favor of St. Louis, by L. U. Reavis and others outside of Congress, and by some Western Senators and Representatives within Congress. In reply to the question, "When will the removal be effected?" Reavis says in his book: "I unhesitatingly answer

that the change will be made within five years from Jan. 1, 1869, * * * and before 1875 the President of the United States will deliver his message at the new seat of Government in the Mississippi Valley." The capital has not been moved, and will not be moved, except as the result of some extraordinary political convulsion; but this conviction is the growth of recent years, and the mischief done by the constant agitation of the subject in the past can hardly be estimated.

Though the first of Washington's grievances is the animosity of many among those who should have been the city's protectors,

THE INDIFFERENCE OF OTHERS NOT ACTIVELY HOSTILE,

has been an evil of hardly less magnitude. Under the Constitution Congress has power of exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia. It is a tract of national territory to be governed by the representatives of the whole people. Its interests are entitled to the thoughtful consideration of every one of its constitutionally appointed legislators. Unfortunately they have not received, and do not receive, this consideration. In the House discussion of 1871 upon the bill to provide a territorial form of government for the District, one of the members of the District committee said that within two years parts of only nine afternoons had been spent in legislation for the capital. The improvement in this respect since that date has not been startling. The announcement that a short time is to be devoted by Congress to District affairs is looked upon by many legislators as an invitation to be absent. Others remain long enough to show that they view their presence and attention as a personal favor to citizens of the District, and not as a part of their Congressional duty. Those Congressmen who consider that the main purpose of their terms is to arm themselves for a re-election are of course bored or disgusted with petty and uninteresting District affairs. Discussion concerning such affairs furnishes nothing to be quoted in the home

papers for their constituents' benefit and their own glory. Even of those who interest themselves in the District a considerable proportion endeavor to utilize it as a field of experiment for their political or other hobbies, the practical application of which they would not, in many instances, dare to attempt at home, where there are voters to make their resentment felt in case the experiment should prove hurtful. But the District is the apothecary's cat, to be dosed experimentally with each dubious compound before it can safely be offered to the public.

The capital could hardly have anticipated such discouraging treatment. The early standard of duty set for Congress in the matter of its management of the District was not a low one. In 1803 Representative Bacon made a formidable estimate of the expense and loss of time to the nation, increasing with the growth of the District, which would be involved in the assumption by Congress of the power of exclusive legislation. "Should justice," he said, "be done to the exercise of this power, it was likely that as much time would be spent in legislating for this District as for the whole United States." It is hardly necessary to say that increasing population has not secured a proportionate increase in the Congressional time devoted to District affairs, and, in view of the facts, the very suggestion that the capital's legislature should give one-half its thoughts to the capital's interests seems ridiculous.

An unfitness for the performance of the duties assigned it has often been urged as part either of

THE ACCUSATION OR CONFESSION OF CONGRESSIONAL INDIFFERENCE

in respect to Washington. In 1803 Representative Randolph remarked in the course of debate that Congress was incompetent to legislate for the District, adding "It was well known that the indolence of other members [than the District committee] or their indifference, inseparable from the situation in which they were placed, would prevent Congress

from legislating with a full understanding of the objects before them." Congress for a long time not only accepted the idea of its incapacity to govern the people of the District, but apparently forgot that it had any responsibilities whatever in respect to the capital city. The excuse of unfitness for failure to furnish the general legislation necessary for the welfare of the residents of the District does not have even a tendency to relieve Congress from the blame which attaches to its neglect to carry out the original plan and implied agreement to build up a magnificent capital on the Potomac. It could, at least, have appropriated the money required to meet its obligations, even if, in truth, it found itself incompetent to pass proper laws. But even when most liberal in the disbursement of the people's money, it had not a cent to expend in rendering the people's city attractive. The blaze of glory, which the mere presence of our national legislators casts upon their place of meeting was thought, perhaps, by members of Congress, to hide all defects in the appearance of the capital, and to amount to a satisfaction in full of their constitutional obligations toward the District. For years the national legislature permitted the capital entrusted to its keeping to be an object of derision and contempt to foreigner and citizen. More than that, it contributed by its own neglect to make more wretched the city's forlorn condition, and then joined in the laugh at the latter's expense.

Some of Washington's Grievances.

SLOW GROWTH OF THE NEGLECTED CAPITAL.

Early Descriptions of the City—Washington in Bankruptcy—Geese and Hogs on Massachusetts Avenue—The Flippant Dickens and Melancholy Trollope—Beauties of the New Washington.

From the Washington Evening Star, February 25, 1888.

Washington's two grievances—the one against its hostile, the other against its neglectful, guardians—operated together to its disadvantage. The miserable state of the city for three-fourths of a century, during which Congressional disfavor or indifference checked its growth, and the efforts of capital-movers shut out new settlers, and discouraged its residents from improving lands which might soon be made valueless, is attested by all descriptions. The child of the nation, neglected and nearly abandoned by its constitutional protectors, with appearance and health uncared for, insufficiently nourished, and in constant terror of death, did not, wonderful to relate, develop rapidly and vigorously. Between 1790 and 1800, the interval within which the efforts were made to prevent the seat of government from leaving Philadelphia, the private houses erected at Washington were few in number, being mostly empty structures, built as a speculation, or the rude huts of workmen on the President's House and the Capitol. In 1800 the small population was clustered, for the most part, in two settlements, the one called Hamburg, on observatory hill, the other called Carrollsburg, on James Creek, between the arsenal and the navy yard. The site of the city was covered in the main by marshes, pastures, dense woods, and some cultivated ground

where wheat, tobacco, and Indian corn were raised. The elevations were overgrown with shrub-oak bushes. There were only two houses on the line of Pensylvania avenue between the President's House and the Capitol. For much of its length this avenue was "a deep morass covered with alder bushes." Chas. W. Janson, an Englishman, said of the place in 1806: "Strangers after viewing the offices of state are apt to inquire for the city while they are in its very center. * * * Some half-starved cattle browsing among the bushes present a melancholy spectacle to a stranger. Quail and other birds are constantly shot within a hundred yards of the Capitol during the sitting of the houses of Congress." Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mrs. President Adams, complained of the scattered condition of the houses. On the same subject John Law, one of the most prominent of the early citizens of Washington, said: "A loose and disconnected population was scattered over the city, and instead of a flourishing town the stranger who visited us saw for years a number of detached villages, having no common interests, furnishing little mutual support, hardly sustaining a market, and divided by great public reservations." The discreditable capital thus described was the result of leaving a plan of magnificent intentions to be carried into execution by a population feeble in numbers and resources, and hampered by the hostility of some and by the indifference and neglect of a great majority of its legislators and constitutional protectors. The same conditions, being permitted to continue,

RETAINED THE CITY IN ITS PITIFUL PLIGHT

as the laughing-stock of visitors. In 1814, after the Secretary of War had sneered at the suggestion that the British might molest the "sheep walk," and after the national representatives more than Washington's would-be defenders had permitted the city to be captured, the following was its appearance: "Twelve or fifteen clusters of houses at a considerable distance from each other, bringing to our recollec-

tions the appearance of a camp of nomad Arabs, which, however, if connected together would make a very respectable town, not much inferior, perhaps, to the capital of Virginia, and here and there an insulated house; the whole of it, when seen from the ruins of our public edifices, looking more like the place where proud Washington once stood than where humble Washington now lies." The capital-moving project of 1814 was, as we have seen, a failure, but it was not without an effect in deterring intending settlers and in impoverishing those already in possession. D. B. Warden, in his "Description of the District of Columbia," published in 1816, says: "The value of lots has diminished on account of the project of Eastern members of Congress to transfer the seat of Government to some other place."

Lots were sold but slowly, even at the reduced prices, and the city extended its limits of settlement with proportionate slowness. In 1824 Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, being "sent to the country for his health," removed himself far from the bustle of the city to Clement Hill mansion, on the northwest corner of 14th street and Massachusetts avenue, a location now in the heart of one of the most valuable sections of the city.

WASHINGTON IN BANKRUPTCY.

While Congress neglected Washington, its residents were goaded by taunts at the capital of the nation into desperate efforts to perform the task intended to be performed by the government, but left undone. Sums beyond their resources were spent upon the improvement of the streets, in erecting city buildings, and in the endeavor to give the capital a commercial footing by digging the Chesapeake and Ohio canal; but the effort was beyond their unassisted strength, and the relief of Congress was sought. Senator Southard, in 1835, reported that the debt of the city reached "the enormous sum of $1,806,442.59;" that it had no means from which it could apply at that time a single dollar to the discharge of its obligations; that owing to its

debts in connection with the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, foreign bankers would in all probability become the owners of a great proportion of the property within the capital of the Union; that the city authorities had been misled into expenditures which did not properly belong to them, although the views by which they were governed were of a liberal and public-spirited character, and that nothing was found in the conduct of the inhabitants or the authorities to excite in Congress a reluctance to come to their relief. Aid was accordingly granted the bankrupt city, but the recommendation, made by Senator Southard, after an exhaustive consideration of the relations between the nation and its capital, that the government should pay regularly a proportion of District expenses, was disregarded, and the city, though rescued from foreign bankers, was permitted to remain a national disgrace. In 1839 George Combe, the British traveler, described the city as "like a large straggling village reared in a drained swamp."

MASSACHUSSETTS AVENUE ABANDONED TO HOGS.

By the corporation laws of that period geese and hogs were prohibited from running at large "south of Massachusetts avenue," under penalty of seizure. They might traverse the land north of that avenue at their pleasure. Practically, one section of Washington was on the same footing as another, since the domestic animals, in spite of all law, had the freedom of the entire city up to a late date. But what a mortification to the street which now boasts residences upon which fortunes have been lavished that it was once set apart, impliedly, as the boundary of the city's goose and hog-pen. Charles Dickens, in "American Notes," gives us his impressions of neglected Washington in 1842. He playfully refers to it as "the headquarters of tobacco-tinctured saliva," and adds: "It is sometimes called the City of Magnificent Distances; but it might, with greater propriety, be termed the City of Magnificent Intentions, for it is only on taking a bird's eye view of it from the top of the

Capitol that one can at all comprehend the vast designs of its projector, an aspiring Frenchman. Spacious avenues that begin in nothing and lead nowhere, streets, mile long, that only want houses, roads, and inhabitants; public buildings that need but a public to be complete, and ornaments of great thoroughfares which only need great thoroughfares to ornament, are its leading features. One might fancy the season over and most of the houses gone out of town with their masters. To the admirers of cities it is a Barmecide feast; a pleasant field for the imagination to rove in; a monument raised to a deceased project, with not even a legible inscription to record its departed greatness. Such as it is it is likely to remain. * * * It is very unhealthy. Few people would live in Washington, I take it, who were not obliged to reside there; and the tides of emigration and speculation, those rapid and regardless currents, are little likely to flow at any time toward such dull and sluggish water." The discouraging observations of the novelist are only an echo of those in which Americans permitted themselves to indulge. The capital's growth was watered by a perpetual shower of disparagement and prophecies of evil. Neither plants nor cities flourish under a hot-water treatment.

THE PROMISE OF BETTER DAYS.

Between 1840 and 1850 Congress showed a tendency to improve the condition of the District. The personal influence of Mayor W. W. Seaton, one of the editors of the *National Intelligencer*, is said to be entitled to a large part of the credit for this friendly disposition; and so unusual was the appropriation of any considerable sum for the benefit of the District that apprehensions were jocularly expressed of the bankruptcy of the United States Treasury if Seaton continued to be mayor. These outlays by Congress quieted to some extent the fear that the capital would be moved, and population increased with unusual rapidity. Since 1810, when the city's inhabitants numbered 8,208, the increase

had been at the insignificant rate of about 500 a year, or 5,000 for each 10 years. Thus the population in 1820 was 13,247; in 1830, 18,326, and in 1840, 23,364. In 1850 at the old rate it should have been about 28,000, but under the encouragement of congressional favor and free from the fear of a present removal of the seat of government, the city swelled its population to 40,000. The initial steps in the work of improving the public grounds were taken by A. J. Downing, the landscape gardener, in 1851–52, but death stopped his labors and no one filled his place.

In 1862, Anthony Trollope was in Washington. Like Tom Moore, Mrs. Trollope and Charles Dickens, who preceded him, he writes of the city in a dyspeptic spirit. Everything disagrees with him. "Washington," he says, "is but a ragged, unfinished collection of unbuilt, broad streets, as to the completion of which there can now, I imagine, be but little hope. Of all places that I know it is the most ungainly and the most unsatisfactory. I fear I must also say the most presumptuous in its pretensions."

HOT SHOT FOR MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE.

Trollope seems to have conceived an especial spite against Massachusetts avenue, now the fashionable residence street of the city, and the vigor of his assaults justifies the suspicion that he was sent on some wild-goose chase, and found the mud of that street particularly disagreeable. "Massachusetts avenue runs the whole length of the city, and is inserted on the maps as a full-blown street, about four miles in length. Go there, and you will find yourself not only out of town, away among the fields, but you will find yourself beyond the fields in an uncultivated, undrained wilderness. Tucking your trousers up to your knees you will wade through the bogs; you will lose yourself among rude hillocks; you will be out of the reach of humanity. * * * The place is very full during Congress, and very empty during the recess. By which I mean to be understood that those streets which are blessed with houses are full when

Congress meets. I do not think that Congress makes much difference to Massachusetts avenue. * * * A stranger finds himself in the position of being sent across the country knee-deep in mud, wading through snipe grounds, looking for civilization where none exists." He adds, in respect to the city: "Desirous of praising it in some degree, I can say that the design is grand. The thing done, however, falls so infinitely short of the design that nothing but disappointment is felt. And I fear that there is no look-out into the future which can justify the hope that the design will be fulfilled. * * * They who belong to it turn up their noses at it. * * * Even in winter, when Congress is sitting, Washington is melancholy; but Washington in summer must surely be the saddest spot on earth." Looking upon the city simultaneously with Mr. Trollope one can reply only feebly to his strictures. Unprejudiced descriptions corroborate his account of the forlorn condition of Washington at that time. George Alfred Townsend, in a magazine article, says: "When the rebellion began the following was the appearance of the city: Not one street was paved for any great consecutive distance; there was not a street car in the city; the Capitol was without a dome and the new wings were filled with workmen. No fire department worthy of the name was to be seen, and a mere constabulary comprised the police, which had to call on the United States marines, as in 1857, when the latter fired upon a mob and killed and wounded a large number of people. The water supply was wholly afforded by pumps and springs. Gas had been in partial use for several years, but little else was lighted except Pennsylvania avenue and the public buildings. * * * Nearly one-half of the city was cut off from the rest by a ditch and called the Island, while an intervening strip of mall and park was patrolled by outlaws and outcasts, with only a bridge here and there for outlet. The riverside was a mass of earthern bluffs pierced by two streets, and scarcely attainable for mire and obstructions. Georgetown communicated with the Capitol by an omnibus

line, and there was no ferry to Alexandria to be remembered as such, except in the sensitive traditions of the oldest residents. * * * In short the city was relatively in embryo as much as when Moore, Weld, Janson, and Basil Hall described it early in the century."

WASHINGTON'S LEAP INTO PROSPERITY.

But Mr. Trollope's disgust at the Washington of the present was equalled only by his hopelessness in respect to its future; and as a prophet he proves a complete failure. From the time when the capital was a camp and hospital, its streets filled with soldiers and resounding with martial music, its churches saddened by the moan of wounded and dying, its development as a city has been continuous. The greater part of this magical transformation has been wrought within the last eighteen years. In place of a straggling country village, with zig-zag grades, no sewerage, unimproved reservations, second-rate dwellings, streets of mud and mire, and wretched sidewalks, the modern Washington has arisen a political, scientific and literary center, with a population trebled since 1860; a city sustained, improved and adorned by an annual expenditure of more than four million dollars; with surface remodelled; with an elaborate and costly system of sewers and water mains; with about 150 miles of improved streets, nearly one-half of which are paved with concrete; with convenient transportation by 33 miles of street railway; with numerous churches and schools, as well as government buildings of architectural pretensions; with broad streets shaded for a distance of 280 miles by more than 60,000 trees, destined to make Washington a forest city; with attractive suburban drives; with reservations and parkings given a picturesque beauty by shrubbery and rich foliage, statuary, fountains and flowers, and with costly private dwellings, rivalling palaces in size and splendor of interior adornment springing up in rapid succession where Trollope sank knee-deep in mud. This wonderful change for the better, effected by certain wise and energetic

agents of the general government whom the District delights to honor, is the result, in part, of a reversal of the conditions which hampered the city's growth. Congress, no longer hostile, or indifferent concerning the pecuniary needs of the District, has spent large sums not only upon public buildings, but also in the improvement of the city, at first spasmodically, since 1878 systematically. The people of the District, encouraged by the general abandonment of the idea of a removal of the seat of government, have also made extensive outlays. But the main public expense of the work of recreating the city is represented by a present debt of more than $20,000,000, nearly all of which has been incurred by officials placed over the affairs of the District by the general government in carrying out those "magnificent intentions" concerning the capital, which, by the original plan, the nation and not the District was to execute. If, by any reasoning, the citizens of Washington can be held legally or morally responsible for this debt, it must be said, as was remarked by Senator Southard in the similar case of 1835, that they have been "misled into expenditures which do not properly belong to them."

Some of Washington's Grievances.

COMPLAINTS, NEEDS AND HOPES OF THE PRESENT.

A Little Bill For Back-Pay—The District's Antiquated Laws—Unfilled Marshes and Unfinished Water-Works—The Railroad Dictatorship—Suburban Development—Current Needs.

From the Washington Evening Star, March 3, 1888.

Washington's recital of past grievances must be modified somewhat to represent just complaints at the present time. Capital-movers no longer retard the city's growth. The nation's "bantling" no longer fears sudden death. Congress fulfills its obligations in respect to the improvement of the District with fidelity. An appropriation equal to one-half of the estimated District expenses is annually made, and considerable sums are frequently appropriated for special purposes which enure to the benefit of the capital. The ward of the nation is properly clothed and fed. There can be little complaint of injustice on the part of Congress in its treatment of the capital so far as outlays of the present are concerned. If the District has a grievance in this respect it consists in the fact that the same principle of dividing expenses which now prevails has not been applied to previous outlays, with the result of reimbursing the District for past expenditures beyond its proportion. It is difficult to see how, with justice and consistency, this reimbursement can be avoided by Congress. The General Government, by the fact of planning a magnificent capital, covering a large area and characterized by broad streets, avenues and reservations to an extent unsuitable for a self-supporting commercial city, and by founding this capital in a place comparatively uninhabited, as well as by the terms of the bargain with the owners of the soil, and by the declarations of its representa-

tives at the founding of the city and afterward, showed an intention to build up a national city, at the nation's expense, on a grand scale, irrespective of the future population of the District. The capital was to be primarily a center of federal action, and the occupation of the ground by settlers was merely incidental to this great purpose. It was to be a meeting-place for the use, convenience and entertainment of the people of the entire union, and the expense of its support and adornment was not to be limited by the scanty resources of what permanent population it might acquire. Probable favoritism toward this population was the ground of one of the arguments against the ratification of the clause of the Constitution, which provides for "the ten miles square." In the Virginia convention Patrick Henry said: "The people within that place may be excused from all the burdens imposed on the rest of society and may enjoy exclusive emoluments to the great injury of the rest of the people." And in the course of pamphlet discussion respecting the government of the District, protest was entered against Congress meeting *all* the needs of the capital, on the ground that the independence and self-respect of its citizens would be degraded. Congress seems for a long time to have obeyed this protest so far as to render no assistance whatever worthy the name in the work of capital-making. For more than thirty years, during which period $700,000, had been realized from the sale of lots pledged for the benefit of improvements, its expenditures upon streets and avenues, which were its exclusive property, were less than $700 per year, and its annual appropriations since that time until a recent period in the city's history, have been widely varying in amount, and at the best inadequate. In 1878 the Government, which had in the beginning impliedly undertaken to meet *all* the expenses of capital-making, and then shifted that burden in the main upon private citizens, decided that justice required it to pay one-half of the District's expenses. The payment of this proportion by the United States as the untaxed owner of one-half the city property, and as in-

terested to that extent in all improvements, had been urged by Senator Southard in 1835. He also advocated

THE REIMBURSEMENT TO THE DISTRICT

of whatever it had expended in the past beyond its just proportion. Congress has followed only one-half of Senator Southard's advice. If justice requires that the Government should pay a certain proportion of District expenses now, both justice and consistency demand that it should pay the same proportion of the expenses of the years of its indifference and neglect. It was shown in 1874 that up to date the citizens of Washington had expended upon the capital in excess of the amount appropriated by Congress about $13,500,000. A balance should be struck, and whatever sum is necessary to make the expenditures of the General Government upon the capital equal to those of its citizens, for the eighty-seven years of the city's life, should be credited to the District. This act of equity is the more necessary for the reason that the heavy debt, to which reference has been made, guaranteed by the government, but constituting in effect a mortgage of about 18 per cent. upon the assessed value of private taxable property in the District, weighs heavily upon the citizens of the capital. The indebtedness which bankrupted Washington in 1835 is now increased more than ten-fold. It will be in the distant future, if the time ever comes, when the city will be able to extinguish this debt, which meanwhile will rest as an incubus upon the prosperity of the capital.

Another grievance which is still felt by the District is the avoidance by Congress of general legislation respecting its affairs. It complains that while it needs as much legislation as many states, it is granted only a few hours or a few days of each session, to be largely wasted in debate without decision. Members of Congress reply when not too indifferent to attempt an answer, that great national affairs cannot be expected to give way to the petty municipal concerns of an insignificant patch of territory. They are also restrained

by a sense of their own unfitness for such legislation, coupled with the knowledge that injurious mistakes will subject them to hearty abuse by the citizens of the District, who, being without votes, have no other method of expressing their disapprobation. This shirking by Congress of a disagreeable duty has had an evil effect upon the laws of the capital. Complaint was early made upon this score. Mr. J. Elliot, in his "Historical Sketches of the Ten Miles Square," published in 1830, says that no essential changes had been made in the general laws, or in their administration since the cession of the District by Maryland and Virginia, and that the citizens were governed by laws as they existed thirty years previously, which had accumulated for generations, many of them barbarous, long since wisely abrogated by the states in which they prevailed, but still in force in the District. The author adds some specimens of these curious, antiquated laws.

THE ANTIQUATED LAWS OF THE MODERN CAPITAL.

Cause of complaint has not been removed since the date of Elliot's demand for reform. The District laws have been aptly compared to those of the Medes and Persians, which change not. The common law and the old British and Maryland statutes in force at the time of cession have not been sufficiently altered by Congress, and these very alterations have been sweepingly described by a prominent lawyer of Washington as "little dabs of law, little blistering or caustic acts, dropped at random on the raw body politic, unadjusted to any want, connected with nothing, remedying nothing, and often worse confusing what no mortal man could understand before." In many respects the laws are a hundred years behind the times. The occurrence in Washington of great trials, like the star-route cases and that of Guiteau, has called the attention of the country to the condition of District law, but no substantial improvement has resulted. At present the laws and ordinances are not even collected in a code. To learn even the municipal regula-

tions one must consult the acts of the corporations of Washington and Georgetown, deceased; the acts of the Levy Court of the County of Washington, deceased; certain acts of the Legislative Assembly, deceased; certain regulations of the Commissioners of the District given the force of law, and certain acts of Congress. These ordinances are often contradictory, clumsily drawn or incomplete, and need to be revised, as well as consolidated and codified. Several fruitless attempts have been made to obtain the necessary legislation by Congress. Successive revisers of the general laws have, since the time of Cranch, exposed in vain to the national legislature the defects, absurdities, and barbarities of the statutes. A code containing only existing laws cannot be passed, because members are unable to refrain from taking advantage of the endless invitations to improvement which are offered, and a revised code cannot, it seems, be passed, because members squabble to such an extent over proposed changes on important subject, that the limited time with which Congress favors the District is consumed without bringing the question to a decision. The House of Representatives has very recently doubled the number of days devoted to the affairs of the District of Columbia, and now agrees, if nothing of greater importance interferes, and quorums can be secured, and nobody at the time is possessed of the filibustering mania, to legislate for the capital on two afternoons of each month instead of one. This increase is exceedingly welcome to the people of Washington, and it is hoped that time may now be found to rid the District of some of the English statutes existing at the time of the first emigration to Maryland, which are our law merely because "found applicable to local and other circumstances" in that state and at that time. They are hardly adapted to the nineteenth century and the capital of the United States. The District should be given a comprehensive code or body of revised statutes, embodying a little of the modern spirit of legislation, both in respect to substantive law and procedure. There are always some faithful and able friends of Washington

in Congress, especially but not exclusively upon the District committees of the two houses, who labor diligently for the District's good, though sometimes discouraged by Congressional inertia and by the confusing and contradictory appeals of citizens. To these friends Washington appeals for relief from the clog upon its onward and upward march, which is caused by the mummy of ancient laws now tightly fastened upon it.

NEGLECT OF WASHINGTON'S HEALTH.

A grievance both of the past and of the present is found in the fact that the health of the capital has been neglected. The sanitary condition of the city has received insufficient attention from Congress at all times. It will not be necessary, however, to point out to the sympathetic reader earlier evils than those of 1888, and everything but mere reference may be omitted in respect to marshes long unfilled within the city limits, in respect to the ditch, festering in the sun and poisoning the air, which formerly existed under the name of the Washington Canal, in respect to imperfect sewerage and a dozen other sources of disease partially or entirely removed only after years of inaction. A grievance still existing, though the first steps toward its removal have been taken, may be cited, and that will be sufficient. The old Committee of One Hundred, a voluntary association of prominent citizens, whose representations to Congress gave the city its new government in 1878, say in their memorial to that body: "The marshes which skirt the entire front of our city are the growth of years of neglect of the commercial and sanitary interests of the nation's capital. The remedy is to be found only in a judicious plan of harbor improvements by which the health and commerce of the city will be alike promoted. Congress has lavished millions on the rivers and harbors of the country, in localities, too, whose claims to national consideration are insignificant as compared with Washington, while comparatively nothing has been done for the harbor of its capital, or for the navigation of a great river which has capacity to float its navy and to sustain a

vast marine commerce." The improvement suggested by this quotation is now in progress and over 500 acres have been partially reclaimed. Work has been delayed by questions, believed not to be serious, concerning title to a part of the land to be improved, and by a lack of necessary funds as the result of President Cleveland's pocket veto of the last river and harbor bill, which afflicted the just with the unjust. There should be no dilly-dallying or half-way measures in the reclamation of the Potomac bottoms. The land that has been partly reclaimed is in no condition to withstand a rise in the water, and there is constant danger that floods, freshets and ice-gorges may destroy all that has been accomplished. There has been, of course, an improvement in the city's health with the filling of marshy flats covered with coarse grasses, which, besmeared with the foul current from one of the city's large sewers, and exposed at low-tide to the heat of the sun, gave to each wind the seeds of disease and death. But a rank vegetation on the half-reclaimed land is still left to decay and to threaten the health of the capital. Congress should make prompt and adequate provision for the vigorous prosecution of the work. The proposed improvement will not only benefit the city's harbor and health, but it will add to the government reservations, fully reimbursing the expense of reclamation, several hundred acres of valuable land, which can be converted into an attractive park.

The healthfulness of Washington is a subject that has been much discussed, and the city from its earliest days has been put upon the defensive. At the time when the site of the capital was chosen it was charged and denied that the climate was destructive to Northern constitutions. Mr. Warden (1816), in the first elaborate description of the District, says that the prevailing opinion that Washington is unhealthy is based on prejudice. Mr. J. Elliott (1830), in the work to which reference has been made, says: "The prejudices against the general health of this District have been dissipated by the monthly publication of meteorologi-

cal observations, and the interments in the public graveyards, authenticated by the board of health." But even the figures of the board of health do not seem to have banished the prejudice entirely, since Dickens, in 1842, pronounced the city "very unhealthy," and that opinion has been retained by many up to a recent time. The site would not seem, however, to have been originally objectionable. Henry Fleet, its first white visitor, who was captured in 1621 by the Indians living here, says: "This place, without all question, is the most pleasant and healthful place in all this country, and most convenient for habitation; the air temperate in summer and not violent in winter." The charge of unhealthfulness was, doubtless, first made by those who wished the seat of government to be located elsewhere than upon the Potomac. If any reliance can be placed upon statistics, the city's average health has been excellent, and the death-rate of the white population is now reduced to about the minimum reached in large cities, in spite of the suggested drawbacks; and such of these as now remain may be readily removed. Malarial diseases which have prevailed to a considerable extent will, it is thought, be almost entirely prevented by the reclamation of the flats. In the absence of its disease-breeding marshes, with its improved sewerage, with abundance of pure water to be secured from the comprehensive system of supply now approaching completion, with its broad, airy streets and its thousands of shade trees, and without the noxious odors of a manufacturing city, it should be one of the healthiest, as it is one of the handsomest cities in the world.

THE REGION OF THE RAILROADS.

An urgent grievance of the present, which grows more unbearable year after year with the attempts at growth of the sections of the city specially injured, is that which arises from the conduct of the railroads entering Washington. Their illegal occupation of streets and reservations, and the damage and disfigurement which they unnecessarily inflict,

are known to every reader of *The Star*, however recent the date of his subscription, and little additional comment is necessary. These evils have been exposed in vain for years to the Congress of the United States. The Senate District committee has recently decided to ignore them altogether. It is not at all concerned to discover that with surface tracks, in part illegal, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad disfigures, obstructs and endangers one whole section of the city, and the Baltimore and Potomac road another. It reads with indifference the long list of persons killed or wounded at the single piece of illegal track known as the Baltimore and Ohio "Y." It hears only with amusement that, in the long strip of land over which the Baltimore and Potomac road is permitted by grace of Congress to rule with absolute power, the people of South Washington find for most of the time an impassable obstruction to travel and traffic, and, if entrance may be secured, a dangerous man-trap. It knows perfectly well, too, that in no city of the world, except in that one whose interests are in part confided to its vigilant protection, would the present condition of affairs be endured for a day. Yet the regulation of the railroads is a matter to be postponed indefinitely. Almost simultaneously with this announcement to the railroads of an unlimited license to sponge upon public property, and to vex and injure the people of the city, comes the novel and startling statement from a hitherto valued champion of the District's rights in the Senate that Washingtonians, like the occupants of forts or arsenals to which the government has title, reside in the city and hold their property by sufferance, and may be evicted at any time at the pleasure of the government. A combination of these two propositions develops the pleasing doctrine that the descendants or assigns of those persons who gave in part and sold in part to the government the portion of the District which it owns, may be evicted by this donee or grantee from that part of the ground which was expressly retained, and which has been improved as private property; while great corporations to

which government property has been gratuitously loaned, and which, without permission, have appropriated other public property, and use all to the injury of the city and its people, may not be evicted or disturbed. The property owners are Oklahoma trespassers; the law-breaking railroads are not. Undoubtedly both branches of the doctrine are unsound in point of law, but waiving all questions of legality, the two announcements might naturally suggest to Congress the effective scheme, beautiful in its simplicity, of quieting complaints against the railroads, and settling the whole complicated problem, by evicting the restless and dissatisfied citizens, and turning over their property to the all-absorbing railroads.

When, if that contingency may be imagined, the sincere efforts of alleged champions of the public against corporations shall no longer be confined to a field of exercise in localities where the dear people to be tenderly guarded have the right to vote, and when the legislature of the District shall pay more regard to the interests intrusted to its guardianship than to the wishes of wealthy politician-making corporations, a wise and statesmanlike plan of regulating the steam railroads of the city will be devised and enforced, which shall clear away surface tracks, check the illegal acts of these squatters upon government property, free the public reservations, and relieve two sections of the city from a burden which throttles, like the old man of the sea upon the shoulders of Sindbad.

In connection with the broad plan of remedying railroad evils, which will place a union station at the nearest point to the business center of the city that can be reached by tunneling or with small injury to public and private interests, a comprehensive system of local rapid transit by electric or cable railways will be provided, which shall give all parts of the District quick and easy access to such station or stations. It is evident that in the improved street railways of the future horses must give way to more rapid and less objectionable motors, that grooved rails must take

the place of the present abominations, and that the franchises to these corporations, no longer gifts, must become a source of public revenue, outside of that which is derived from them through just taxation of their tangible property. The obstacle will be met here, as in New York, of an appearance of unjust discrimination, if greater burdens for the benefit of the public are placed upon new lines than upon those in existence with which the former will come into competition. But the difficulty may also be overcome here in the same manner in which it is proposed to overcome it in that city. The competition or threatened competition of new roads with improved motive power will inevitably drive existing companies to ask from Congress the privilege of using the new motors. Some, too, will wish to extend their lines, and some which have been making unauthorized use of certain streets of the city will ask that their occupation of such streets be legalized. When these applications are made to Congress, without the necessity of recourse to the severe and unjust remedy of a general forfeiture of charters, the opportunity will be conveniently afforded of applying to existing roads the restrictions and exactions which are now found to be wise and proper in granting new franchises.

Another function of the improved street railway system will be to render substantial assistance in furthering

WASHINGTON'S WONDERFUL SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT,

a striking feature of the capital's recent history. A city nearly equal in size to the original Washington has been planned outside the present boundaries. New roads and streets have been laid out. Handsome houses have gone up, and so have the prices of lots. Fortunes have been made in the purchase, subdivision and sale of suburban property. The care of this infant Washington is a need of the present. It should be supplied in equitable proportion to its population and taxable values with city improvements. In time Washington will doubtless stretch a symmetrical

plan of streets and avenues over the whole District. The sooner the lines to which suburban growth may adapt itself are authoritatively laid down the better it will be for the future city. The destruction of one house which interfered with L'Enfant's plan of the original capital caused a historic rumpus. What a clash may be expected if the planning of the annex to Washington, to conform as far as is practicable to the streets and avenues of the present city, is delayed until over the greater part of the District only the vexatious choice is given between a wholesale destruction of private improvements, made in good faith, and a departure, in respect to the size and direction of streets, from the general plan! The task of reconciling public and private interests in this matter has already ceased to be an easy one, and every year adds to the difficulties.

The development of this infant Washington is not of course to monopolize attention and revenue to the neglect of the present city. Large areas within the existing boundaries, especially in the sections afflicted by surface railroad tracks and numerous grade crossings, require improvement and denser settlement. Then there are to be supplied all the current needs of a growing city, involving, for instance, the steady increase of the police force and of the number of schools to keep pace with the multiplication of those who are to be protected and educated. The columns of the local press, the resolutions of citizens' associations, and the reports of the District Commissioners show that these needs are neither few nor insignificant.

Some of Washington's Grievances.

NO VOTES, YET NO GRIEVANCE?

Washington Needs no Elective Franchise in Municipal Affairs—No Repeal of "Exclusive Legislation" Clause—But Right to Vote for Representative, Senator, and President.

From the Washington Evening Star, March 10, 1888.

The idea of withdrawing from state power and the control of its residents a portion of territory to serve as the seat of government under the exclusive jurisdiction of the people of the whole Union, as represented by Congress, seems to have obtained a strong hold upon the minds of the founders of the Republic. Many desired to strengthen the notion of a Union by giving the general government an exclusive territory, a center of federal action, controlled by it alone. State jealousies had some influence in the matter. The jurisdiction of any one state over the seat of government would, it was thought, give that state, to some extent, control over the general government itself. Exclusive jurisdiction and the power to call out the militia would also, it was considered, enable Congress to protect itself in case of riot or other disturbance. The fact, now worn threadbare by constant allusion, was remembered, that Congress, while meeting at Philadelphia, October 21, 1783, had been insulted and forced to adjourn to Princeton. The opposition to the plan of giving Congress exclusive jurisdiction over the seat of government seems to have been feeble. No debate upon the clause is reported to have taken place in the Constitutional convention. Objection was made in the Virginia ratifying convention that the District might become an asylum for political criminals or violators of states' rights. But the clause was adopted without much

opposition. By its terms Congress was given the power of exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over this national territory. The legislature of the Union has an authority over the District incompatible with the exercise of the full elective franchise by its citizens. Without an amendment to the Constitution Washington can never vote for President or Senator or Representative. If there is a political grievance, the Constitution is responsible. The city's complaint against Congress is not that it has deprived residents of the right to vote, but that it has failed to take this disability sufficiently into consideration in its treatment of the city. If the United States had attempted to assume no particular control over the capital, and the seat of government as a city of Maryland had legislated for itself, and had improved and developed itself only in proportion to the means of its citizens, then the indifference of Congress and the frantic efforts of legislators to avoid a few hours' consideration of its affairs might have some ground of justification. But Washington protests against the application of a theory and practice which, in combination, have denied it the privileges while burdening it largely with the responsibilities of independence.

In the performance of its duties as guardian of the capital's welfare, four courses are open to Congress. First, it may leave the relations between the District and the general government unchanged, but give more time and consideration to the capital and its affairs, remodeling its laws in accordance with the wishes of its citizens and providing liberally for the improvement of its appearance, for its general development and for its relief from the heavy debt inequitably imposed upon it. Congressmen should look upon themselves as the representatives of a national district as well as of their own local districts. It should be remembered that the so-called congressional appropriations for the capital's ordinary expenses are not gifts or beggar's alms, but merely a disbursement of the District revenues, one-half coming from individual tax-paying citizens, the remainder

from the United States as the untaxed holder of one-half of all Washington property, and much should be done by the government beyond the contribution of this quota. If the capital is to be deprived of privileges which would belong to it as the city of its citizens, it should be made worthy of admiration as the city of the United States, representing in miniature its growth in population, wealth and power.

UNLIMITED ELECTIVE FRANCHISE IN MUNICIPAL CONCERNS.

Secondly, Congress may give to the District local sovereignty and the elective franchise to the limited extent which the Constitution will permit. It has been urged by many that Congress has the ability to delegate its power of general legislation; that the exercise of exclusive authority does not forbid a choice of agencies; that the government provided for the District should be assimilated to the theory of republican institutions; and that the natural right of men to govern themselves should be recognized as far as that is possible. And to show that it was never intended by the framers of the Constitution to deprive any portion of the people of the United States of local representative government, the words of Madison in the 43d number of the *Federalist* are quoted. The other side of the question has been argued with equal ability, and the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia have adopted it. In Roach et al. *vs.* Van Riswick (Washington *Law Reporter*, November 10, 1879), it was decided that Congress has no capacity under the Constitution to delegate its delegated powers by bestowing general legislative authority upon the local government of the District, and an act of the so-called legislative assembly of the District, upon which the suit was brought, was declared inoperative and void. For the present, then, in the absence of an overruling decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, such a delegation of power is unconstitutional, and only the unsatisfactory privileges of a municipal corporation can be conferred. But experience has taught that if the decision in Roach against Van Riswick were reversed, and if

the most extensive powers of voting were bestowed which any reasonable construction of the Constitution can grant, the gift would be not merely valueless, but objectionable. The judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, in a report made June 1, 1874, stated the following truths: "In a strict legal sense there can be said to be no such thing as a local government of the District of Columbia, for there can be no government within the District independent of that of the federal government, and whatever local authority there may be now existing, or which may hereafter be set up within the District, it can only be regarded legally as an agency of the federal government, and whatever authority this local government may exercise, it must be regarded as the act of the United States through their delegated representative." The District legislature would in any event act under the restrictions suggested by these words. Its general laws would be mere petitions, void without the assent, express or implied, of Congress. A delegate without a vote has little weight in a "log-rolling" body like the House of Representatives. The other officers would be petty town officials, and a voice would still be denied the city in the choice of the executive and legislative officers of the nation. In short, the exercise of suffrage thus limited would be an expensive farce. Without representation suffrage is of no value; and, shut out from the bodies which make its laws and impose taxes upon it, representation of the District under the Constitution in its present shape can be only a sham.

It is extremely doubtful whether popular suffrage is desirable in the choice of those who are intrusted with purely municipal functions, even in cities where its adoption is not opposed by the peculiar objections which confront it in its application to the affairs of Washington. Experience and observation do not teach that a municipality which is reasonably well-governed will display wisdom by demanding a change of system in order to assimilate itself to ordinary American cities. The latter are notoriously

misgoverned. Incompetent and dishonest officials have been too often chosen in partisan contests, immense municipal debts have been contracted, and excessive taxation has been imposed. Statistics show that while state indebtedness has decreased between the last two censuses, municipal indebtedness has vastly increased, far more rapidly than population and valuation, and its amount in American municipalities is now estimated at a billion dollars. The deplorable financial condition of so many of our large cities is due, in the main, to unlimited popular suffrage, which has given to non-taxpaying, irresponsible voters

THE POWER TO EXPEND, EXTRAVAGANTLY AND CORRUPTLY,

the money supplied by tax-payers. It has placed the contributors and non-contributors to a fund upon an equal footing in the matter of deciding how and by whom the fund shall be disbursed. It has enabled the latter, under the guise of taxation, to make a division of the contributions of the former. It has legalized the virtual confiscation of accumulated wealth by aggregated paupers. Under its workings, robbers at the head of organized bands of destitute and desperate followers, have been permitted to seize, through mere force of numbers, the purse of more than one city, and to spend its contents at pleasure. The intolerable misgovernment of many American cities has not only caused the suggestion of such schemes of reform as the limitation of suffrage to tax-payers, and minority representation, but it has led even to the bold proposition that all power of self-government be withdrawn from these municipalities, and that the management of their affairs be intrusted to the state legislature—a plan which, if adopted, would place them in respect to their internal administration in a condition similar to that of Washington. In theory the powers exercised by the officers of cities are by delegation from the people of the whole state, in whom the ultimate sovereignty, as modified by the Constitution of the United States, resides. In New York, from 1777 to 1821, the officers of muncipal

corporations were appointed by the governor and four senators chosen every year by four subdivisions of the assembly. Instances of the intervention of the state government into the affairs of cities, amounting in some cases to indirect disfranchisement, have not been lacking in later years. There are serious objections, however, to the plan of granting exclusive control over cities to the state government, and it is not likely that the proposition can muster many advocates. But the mere fact that the suggestion has been made indicates that the evils which our municipalities endure are so great that the condition of Washington is viewed by some as preferable. The capital may well hesitate before it demands a privilege which its possessors are eager to resign, before it seeks to bind upon its own shoulders the burden of which other cities are making desperate efforts to relieve themselves, before it asks, as a boon, the main source of municipal woes. If the doctrine were generally accepted that universal suffrage is demanded by republican principles only in the choice of those officers who exercise purely governmental functions, and not in the selection of agents by municipal corporations to perform duties affecting private property interests, and if Congress might be depended upon to grant to the tax-payers of the District the financial administration of the capital, some of the objections against an elective system would be removed. But there is no probability of such action by Congress. The same spirit which would force republican forms of government to be observed in the District, though republican rights are not granted therewith, would deny a property qualification for voters. The municipal affairs of the city are now managed by a Commission appointed by the President, and compared with the manner and cost of the performance of similar duties in other cities the work is well and cheaply done. If this method of government should be abandoned, and the universal-suffrage system adopted, there is no reason to believe that Washington would escape the maladministration which prevails in other large cities. The conditions which cause

popular suffrage to be baneful in the latter exist to a considerable degree at the capital, and in one or two respects

WASHINGTON HAS ADDITIONAL DISADVANTAGES

with which to contend. The character of the voting population of the city, though it would not be a proper ground of objection if it were proposed to invest the residents of the District with the full rights of American citizenship, may be noted when the evils of suffrage are offered without its substantial benefits. About one-third of the inhabitants of Washington are colored, and this number includes thousands of the worst as well as the best specimens of the race. In addition to the permanent colored element an army of recruits would be attracted by elections to the city from the farms of Maryland and Virginia, to be used as voting material by political "bosses," and to be supported as loafers, partly by the wages of politics, partly by charity and partly by jail nourishment. The floating population of non-taxpayers will always be large at the capital, where office-seekers most do congregate, but with the accessions that elections bring the solid citizens would almost certainly be overwhelmed.

An objectionable result of the choice by general vote of minor officers only, with insignificant powers, is the small-bore politician developed by small-bore elections. In the states the politician may hope to rise, step by step, to the governorship of a wealthy, populous and powerful community, to a seat in the national legislature, or to the presidency. In Washington he must confine himself to petty affairs and limit himself by petty ambitions; and, naturally, few able and upright men would be tempted by the prospect.

The commission government, which a sham representative system would displace, has the advantage of bringing the United States and the national capital into those close relations which were anticipated in the plans of our forefathers. The members of the commission are appointed by

the President, to whom they report, and the nominations of two of them are approved by the Senate. The Treasurer of the United States is treasurer of the District. Congress alone is responsible for all general legislation. The true relations of Washington to the general government are thus suggested at every turn. If the city were permitted to elect local officers and pass local laws it would remove itself to that extent from national consideration, members of Congress would be permitted fewer opportunities of learning their full responsibilities in respect to the nation's ward, while the privilege gained would have no compensating advantage.

It is true that commission governments are not unobjectionable, but it is believed that the most serious of their evils may be avoided more readily than those of the alternative system. Among the possible dangers of such a government for Washington are two that are prominent: First, that the executive may appoint as commissioners, not bona fide citizens of the District, interested in its welfare alone, but his own favorites, on the score of personal friendship, or as a reward for political services. Secondly, that such commissioners, when appointed, will use the minor positions under their control as similar political rewards to aid the party or the political "boss" in whose interests they have been given office. If the city's government is ever debased into a mere political machine, a death blow will be given to the interests of the District. The capital is the ward, not of a party, but of a nation; it requires the friendly legislation of both parties; and to obtain such legislation its government must be non-partisan. The affairs of Washington are in certain respects confided to the President and commissioners appointed by him as trustees. If President or commissioner takes advantage of this position to benefit himself, or a clique, or a political party, and is not influenced solely by a consideration of the interests confided to his protection a sacred trust is betrayed.

Thirdly, Congress may propose an amendment to the Constitution

EXTINGUISHING ITS OWN POWER OF EXCLUSIVE LEGISLATION

and placing the residents of the District upon the same footing in regard to all elections as the citizens of the several states. The prosperity of Washington as the national capital would be endangered by the grant of local sovereignty to its citizens. Even if the nation might be induced to surrender the control of its property interests in the District entirely to the residents, which is hardly conceivable, it would not be willing to pay one-half of the expenses of the capital with no power of management in respect to its affairs, and with not even a voice in its government. But it is absolutely essential to the welfare of the city that its present financial relations to the United States shall be preserved. The manner of Washington's development renders it utterly unable to meet, unassisted, the expense of sustaining itself as a magnificent national capital. What was said in 1878, when the question was whether the government should pay a fixed proportion of District expenses, might be repeated if under any circumstances the attempt were made to withdraw the support then provided: "As in the beginning the federal city was without population or resources to which its founders could look for its development and improvement, so also at the present time it is wholly without the means either in property, commerce or manufactures, to meet the enormous outlays which the magnificence of the plan requires. One-half of its property, and the best half, is owned by the United States, and pays no taxes, and the other half is mortgaged for one-fourth of its value by a debt contracted in exhausting and paralyzing efforts to make it what its patriotic founders designed it to be—a national capital, worthy of the name it bears." If deprivation of suffrage is the only condition upon which citizens of the District are partially relieved from their heavy burdens, they evidently

prefer to remain "political slaves" rather than become bankrupt freemen.

The arguments, already recited, which led to the establishment of an exclusively national district must also be weighed when it is attempted to reverse the decision then made.

The sentiment which identifies the fate of the Union with that of the capital should not be disregarded. Washington has planted the roots of its existence and prosperity in the spirit of American nationality. It has flourished in proportion as this spirit has been strong. The grand designs respecting it were neglected by those, not its enemies, who resented the substantial embodiment of a power superior to that of the state. It again revived when civil war developed the patriotic national sentiment, and Americans learned that the Union is a substantial something to love, to live for, and to die for. The bloodshed of the Revolution gave birth to the spirit of nationality and created the city; the bloodshed of the civil war revived the spirit and regenerated the city. The imagination may conceive that the soul of the Union is enshrined in this exclusive territory, and that if ever its peculiar existence shall be extinguished the event will be a forerunner of the dissolution of the Union.

Fourthly, retaining exclusive jurisdiction, Congress may propose

A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT GIVING THE DISTRICT REPRESENTATION

in the bodies which legislate for it and tax it, a voice as to the President, who is to appoint the commissioners to manage its local affairs, and, in general, except as to the privilege of choosing town or county officers, to place the residents of the District upon the same footing as the citizens of the several states.

A minor discrimination against inhabitants of the capital which needs to be thus remedied is that which denies them the right of bringing suits in the federal courts in those

cases where the privilege is given to the citizens of a *state*, and which puts them before the national judiciary in a less favorable attitude than that of aliens. (Hepburn *vs.* Ellzey, 2 Cranch., 445.)

While the District is not a state, and while its citizens, in addition to the denial of the benefits of the federal courts, are forbidden representation, it is subject to direct federal taxation, although the Constitution says that "*representatives* and *direct taxes* shall be apportioned among the several *states* of the Union according to their respective numbers." These words are held to furnish merely a rule of apportionment, and not to limit the power of taxation. (Loughborough *vs.* Blake, 5 Wheaton, 317.) The District paid its proportion, some $50,000, of the twenty-million direct tax of August 6, 1861, the last of the four direct taxes. It has also paid into the national treasury from the commencement of the excise-tax law in 1862 $6,454,907.03, a larger amount than that derived from Alabama, Arkansas, Maine, Mississippi, Nevada, South Carolina or Vermont. "Taxation without representation" thus prevails at the capital. It is alleged, in justification, that the District (when nearly uninhabited) voluntarily resigned its right of distinct representation, and irrevocably adopted the whole body of Congress (including its bitter enemies and its lukewarm friends) as the representatives of its interests. Washington was in existence only a few months when its residents began to bemoan their prospective disfranchisement, their exclusion from participation in national elections. In a pamphlet concerning the "government of the territory of Columbia," published in 1801 by A. B. Woodward, it is said: "This body of people is as much entitled to the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship as any other part of the people of the United States. There can exist no necessity for their disfranchisement, no necessity for them to repose on the mere generosity of their countrymen to be protected from tyranny; to mere spontaneous attention for the regulation of their interests. They are entitled to a participation in the *general councils* on the principles of equity and

reciprocity." From the beginning of the century, too, members of Congress who have viewed the condition of the capital with other emotions than that of indifference have either "felt their hearts bleed" over the enslaved condition of the people, or have denounced the disfranchised as selling their republican birthright for a mess of pottage. In a debate in the House, December, 1800, Representative Smilie said: "Not a man in the District would be represented in the government, whereas every man who contributed to the support of a government ought to be represented in it; otherwise his natural rights were subverted and he was left not a citizen but a slave. It was a right which this country, when under subjection to Great Britain, thought worth making a resolute struggle for, and evinced a determination to perish rather than not enjoy." In 1803 the "unrepublican" condition of the District was again a matter of comment, and it was proposed to recede to Maryland and Virginia jurisdiction over the parts of the District originally ceded by them. John Randolph, Jr., in February of that year, said in the House: "I could wish, indeed, to see the people within this District restored to their rights. This species of government is an experiment how far freeman can be reconciled to live without rights; an experiment dangerous to the liberties of these states. But inasmuch as it had been already made, inasmuch as I was not accessory to it, and *as at some future time its deleterious effects may be arrested*, I am disposed to vote against the resolution." A proposition to recede the territory of Columbia outside of the limits of Washington, caused Representative Clark to say, in 1805, that he spoke of the inhabitants whenever he had occasion to allude to them with pity and compassion, and he most devoutly wished to see them placed in a condition more congenial to his own feelings, and the feelings of every true lover of civil and political freedom. Alexandria was retroceded in 1846, her "galling disfranchisement" being referred to in debate. Georgetown had sought retrocession in 1838, but unsuccessfully.

Many of those who favored the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress over the District on the same grounds that caused such a District to be established were yet

PREPARED TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION

when the proper time should come, in order to give the people of the capital a representation in Congress, the body which, in theory, constitutes their legislature. As early as December, 1800, Representative Dennis said: "If it should be necessary the constitution might be so altered as to give them a delegate to the general legislature when their numbers should become sufficient." A *territorial* delegate, which did not then exist, could not have been intended. The time suggested by Mr. Dennis seems to have now arrived. The difficulty of providing Congressional representation for an isolated collection of people, insufficiently numerous in themselves to be entitled to a representative, is no longer to be met. The population of the District is increasing with extraordinary rapidity. In 1880 it numbered 177,638, and in 1885, 203,459. The census of 1880 was the first enumeration which showed it to have acquired a population that would entitle it to ask admission as a state if it were upon the footing of an ordinary territory. The number of persons to be represented by each member of the House of Representatives is, according to the last apportionment, about 152,000. The House committee on territories reports in favor of granting representation to Montana, which, it thinks, will have 170,000 population next November; to Washington territory, which is expected to contain 160,000 people at that time, and to New Mexico, which had 134,131 persons in 1885. One representative in the House and one, at least, in the Senate, should be granted the District. This arrangement is found to be equitable when the population and growth of the several states are considered. The District, by the showing of the census of 1880, already surpassed in point of numbers Nevada (62,265), Delaware (146,654), and Oregon (174,767); and the advantage over Delaware

and Nevada is likely to be retained. In addition to these three states, Colorado (194,649), Florida (267,351), Rhode Island (276,351), Vermont (332,286) and New Hampshire (346,984), had less than double the District's population, making the assignment of one Senator to the latter equitable.

In view of the comparative rate of increase and other considerations, the District is likely to be found in the future ahead of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, and, perhaps, Connecticut, of the original states, and Vermont and Nevada of the new states.

The adoption of the fourth plan by Congress would be a compromise between granting only local, qualified suffrage, which is highly objectionable to the District, and consenting to absolute self-government, which involves a surrender of national control over the capital, and to which the United States, as the owner of one-half the city, and the virtual payer of one-half its taxes, would never consent. The wisdom of this course is sustained by all the arguments which go to show that the constitutional power of "exclusive legislation" by Congress should not be hastily yielded, and also by those which maintain that taxation without representation and inequality of citizens before the law should not be allowed to exist. The District would be placed in certain respects on a level with the states. Taxed like them, it would have like them a voice in the disposition of the general taxes. It would not, however, stand upon precisely the same footing with them, for the states are subordinated to the general government only in certain defined particulars, whereas the District would be subordinate in all respects. This inferiority would be indicated, it has been suggested, by giving the District

ONE INSTEAD OF TWO SENATORS

and by a corresponding reduction in its electoral vote. Enjoying representation in Congress and participation in the choice of the President, who appoints its local officers, Washington would resemble in its municipal government a city

which, after voting for the governor and legislature of a state, is managed by a commission appointed by the former and approved by the latter. Under this fourth plan the suggestions made in respect to the duty of members of Congress as the exclusive legislators for the capital would still be applicable; the present financial arrangements between the District and the general government would be maintained; the expensive transportation of office-holding voters to the states from Maine to Florida and from New York to California would, after the abolition of the office-apportionment system, be avoided; the rights of residents of the District as American citizens would be recognized in a manner which would inflict the smallest possible injury upon the interests of the city as capital of the United States, and this spot of national territority with all its patriotic associations would be preserved to the Union.

If at the time of giving the District the substantial representation suggested it should also be decided that Congress can manage the minor concerns of the District more satisfactorily by modifying in details the present form of municipal government, such changes may then be conveniently made. But every alteration should be based upon a full recognition, first of the absolute necessity of a retention by the general government of such representation in and control of the management of city affairs as will enable it to protect its vast interests here; second, of the frightful warning from the experience of other large cities against recourse to unlimited popular suffrage as a factor in the decision of purely municipal and financial matters; and, third, of the vital importance to the District that its local government shall be non-partisan.

It is conceded that the best method by which Congress can regulate the capital as a city may vary somewhat in details, with altering circumstances, but there is no urgent, present necessity for a change in this respect. The more important question is, Shall not the people of the District,

who now largely exceed the number of persons represented by each member of the House, be

ADMITTED TO THE UNION

as citizens of a quasi-state, and be granted representation in the national legislature, and the privilege of voting for President? Without disputing for the present the proposition, proved absurd by experience, that they do not need, as citizens of the *District*, distinct representation in Congress as a local legislature because they are represented in that capacity by *all* Senators and Representatives, do they not, as citizens of the *United States*, assembled in sufficient numbers in a limited space and paying national taxes, require representation in the body which imposes and disburses these taxes?

The people of Washington do not wish an unlimited elective franchise in municipal concerns or a repeal of the "exclusive-legislation" clause, with a change of the financial relations between the city and the United States, and many of them, in view of the dangers to be faced in the discussion by Congress of changes of any description in the present government, will continue to favor the first or do-nothing policy on the part of Congress, which was unquestionably wisest as long as the fixed population of the District, not in government employ, was insufficient to entitle it to a representative in Congress, and which is still wisest so far as the municipal government is concerned. These citizens will doubtless for the reason suggested hesitate to ask the additional rights to be secured by this constitutional amendment. But while the asking and granting of these rights may be in various ways reasonably delayed, they can not be indefinitely postponed. Though representation in their national and local legislature, which alone makes laws for them and taxes them, and may send every man of them to war to be wounded or killed, be denied to the 225,000 District residents of the present, will the same denial be given to the half million of the near future, or to the prospective million toward which figure as a goal the District's population is pressing?

Some of Washington's Grievances.

THE GOOD TIME COMING

When These Grievances Shall Vanish—And Washington Shall Be Exalted—No Longer Neglected, Starved and Frightened —But Tenderly Fostered by its Proud Guardian.

From the Washington Evening Star, March 17, 1888.

As long as Washington is compelled to divert from the funds for its maintenance and development as the capital of the nation between one and two million dollars, paid each year in interest and to sinking fund, and the heavy debt thus indicated rests upon it, draining its resources, the growth of the city will be delayed, and the nation, retarded by its impecunious partner, will need to move slowly in the grand designs of capital making. But with the full adoption by Congress of the original and true idea of its duty toward the District in respect to the capital's financial concerns, and in the matter of general legislation for its benefit, and in a trustee's protection of all its interests, whether invaded by persons or corporations, the city will flourish in far greater measure than during even the last decade. Thus favored the Washington of a not remote future will be still more distinctively a city of magnificent distances than at present. Though limited only by the boundaries of the District, it will be compactly knit together by a uniform system of streets and avenues, and by cable or electric railways, which shall utilize additional bridges across intervening waterways, such as Eastern Branch and Rock Creek, and bring the most distant parts of the new capital in close proximity to the business center. Or, as an alternative to the bridging of Rock Creek in the city, that stream

may be diverted through a tunnel to hide its urban ugliness and to remove the cause of West Washington's isolation.

SURFACE IMPROVEMENT OF THE DEVELOPED CAPITAL.

The surface of the city will retain and develop present charms, and be freed from present defects. Overhead poles will go, and overhead wires will be buried. A comprehensive system of underground conduits will accommodate all pipes which need to be conducted below the surface, and will confine not only telegraph and telephone wires, but also an adequate supply of electric-light wires, for Washington's broad streets are to be brilliantly illuminated at night, and the city will not be entirely content even with the better and cheaper gas to be secured for it by Senator Spooner. The underground Washington, like the surface city, will be planned and constructed with wise forethought, so that continual and extensive excavation of the streets may be avoided. Warning will be taken from the experience of New York city, in respect to which Mayor Hewitt, in a recent message, said: "During the year 1887, 98 miles of gas mains were laid, 25.58 miles of trench opened for electrical sub-ways, 4,791 lineal feet of steam pipes laid, 3,790 feet of salt-water pipes laid, 17,973 excavations made for house connections, 15.42 miles of water pipe laid, 7.12 miles of sewer built and many miles of excavations made for repairs of water pipes and sewers, making a sum total so appalling as to furnish no analogy except in the results of a vast earthquake."

In this Washington of the future the periodical battle over appropriations for street improvements will lose much of its customary desperation, for Congress by liberal lump appropriations for the benefit of its exclusive property, the city streets, will have at least provided the seven millions needed for such improvements in the present city; and the "neglected sections" will, in great measure, cease from troubling, and the weary apportioners of appropriations for such purposes will, comparatively speaking, be at rest. The

city of asphalt pavements will be the paradise of bicyclists, carriage users and equestrians, and sidewalks fit to be trod, showing the same mercy to man that concrete pavements show to beasts, will replace the present mud-bespattering aggregations of loose bricks. The street-cleaning system will clean the streets.

Thousands of additional trees will contribute to the city's health and beauty. Attractive residences, with the same pleasing variety of architecture that distinguishes those which now adorn Washington, will ornament every eligible site in the expanded capital. New public buildings will delight the eye at every turn. They will not be so constructed as to display to all the world a penurious builder with a contempt for architectural attractiveness, and will not be planted upon the reservations to clog the city's lungs with brick and mortar, to disfigure the capital's grand design, and to torture the spirit of poor L'Enfant, already too much vexed. Among them will be a District government building and a local post-office. In prudent deference to the deep-rooted but contradictory convictions of the owners of eligible sites, the exact location of these buildings will not be here specified, but it may be stated that the local post-office will not then be housed with the Post-Office Department of the general government, to which it seems likely to be fastened in the near future.

Washington's beauty as

THE CITY OF PARKS

will ripen to perfection. There will be the same profusion of small, multiform reservations sprinkled over the enlarged city at the intersection of streets and avenues, displaying all the adornments that nature and the gardener's and sculptor's art can supply. Larger parks will not be wanting. In the southern part of the city the Mall, cleared of railroad tracks, and enlarged by the addition of several hundred acres of reclaimed flats, will make a magnificent park, and furnish a famous driveway by which the visitor, having

swiftly traversed historic Pennsylvania avenue from the President's House to the Capitol, may return to his starting point by way of the Botanical Gardens, Armory Lot, Smithsonian Grounds, Agricultural Grounds, Monument Lot and White House Grounds, winding through trees, flowers and well-kept turf, and passing buildings of great public interest, historic monuments and statues. To the other end of the city Rock Creek Park will furnish a breathing place, with its thousand acres of surface, its beautiful, winding stream, and its wild and diversified scenery.

In the future Washington the Potomac River will be utilized to its full capacity for the benefit of the trade, health, and pleasure of the city. The present impediment to easy access to the river front, the impassable barrier of a belt of surface railroad tracks, illegally occupied by standing cars, will be sent to join the obstacles of the past—a pestiferous canal, a criminal-infested Mall, and high bluffs which needed to be pierced. The local rapid transit system will bring the Potomac within easy reach. The good harbor to be secured when the flats are filled will meet the demands of the city's growing commerce. Without its malarious marshes, the quickened river will cut large slices from the District's death rate. The upper Potomac, with its narrow, rocky channel and rugged scenery, will delight the fisherman; just above the city the broadening stream, with the landings and houses of local boat clubs perched picturesquely upon the wooded banks, will allure in ever-increasing numbers the oarsmen and their friends, and on the lower Potomac the fifteen or twenty excursion steamers of the present will be vastly multiplied to furnish fresh air cheaply in the heat of summer and to bring joy to children and the poor, and despair to the doctors, druggists, and undertakers. Public floating baths will further contribute to the city's health. Handsome and substantial bridges—perhaps a memorial bridge connecting with a broad avenue leading to Mount Vernon—will furnish communication with Virginia, and the Long Bridge, that shabby, flood-threaten-

ing nuisance of the present, will be only a disagreeable reminiscence.

In that glittering future the local offices of the District will be bestowed upon District citizens in faithful fulfillment of the promises of party platforms. The people of the District will be no longer stunted citizens of the United States, but will enjoy representation in both houses of Congress as their legislature, and a voice in the selection of their executive, the President. The government clerks will not be vexed with deceptive examinations for promotion, intended to discharge rather than to promote, but with the victory of true civil service reform and the abolition of the apportionment system, which distributes offices, as bandits' plunder, among the states in proportion to their strength, the efficient clerks will be freed from the haunting terror of unreasonable dismissal, and will become a desirable and reasonably permanent element of the city's house-building and voting population.

LINES UPON WHICH THE CITY WILL EXPAND.

Washington will be the recognized and only meeting place of the American people in convention assembled. In 1887 it drew to itself gatherings like the International Medical Congress, the National Drill of the militia, and innumerable other conventions, including the representatives of such varied activities as the shippers of the country, the woman suffragists, the laundrymen, the carriage makers, the agricultural scientists, the postal clerks, the school superintendents, and the Evangelical Alliance. With so favorable a start in the desired direction what may not be expected in this respect from the future, which will bring to Washington increased attractions to tempt visitors and enlarged accommodations for the meetings of representative bodies.

The city will not be pre-eminent in wholesale trade, but long rows of handsome business blocks, in the line of present development, will fully supply all local needs. Nor will the great manufacturing centers of the country find in

Washington a dangerous competitor. According to the census of 1880, Washington was then among the twenty leading cities of the United States in manufactures, with 971 establishments, and products for the year valued at $11,882,316; and it has an excellent water power at Georgetown, and cheap and easy access to the coal fields. But the capital will never lead in the handling of iron, pork, wheat or cotton. Modelling after Paris rather than Pittsburg, it will doubtless develop the various branches of light and clean manufacturing, which, with the departmental workshops, will give employment to many and make profitable returns, without interfering by noises or smells, with the capital's attractions as a residence city. In the latter capacity, Washington will distance every competitor. To live at Washington, not to die at Paris, will become the American aspiration.

As an educational center the city will also be preeminent. George Washington believed in and favored the establishment of a national university at the capital, selected a site for it and added works to faith by contributing stock for its endowment, which afterward, however, unfortunately became worthless. The reasons he gave for the location of the university at this point apply at the present time, and will prevail in the future with the result of giving the city a series of universities in place of the one which Washington proposed. It is in the nature of a special education to pass at the seat of government the years of greatest activity in acquiring knowledge. Nowhere else on the continent will the student of science or of law find in museums and libraries such treasures for his enjoyment. With the institution upon which Mr. Corcoran lavished a million and a half dollars in his life, and $100,000 at his death, as a foundation, a thorough and admirable system of art instruction will be developed and become a notable feature of the educational facilities furnished by the capital. The vast national library, conveniently arranged and easy of access in the immense structure to be erected for its accommodation,

bringing to light the accumulated treasures of learning, now half hidden and inaccessible at the Capitol, will materially aid Washington to become, as it must become, the home not only of the nation's students but of its authors. With Parisian light manufactures and the factories of the government departments to give employment to thousands of people, and with the constant accession of residents to the capital as the political, educational, scientific, literary, and art center of the republic, and the leading residence and "show" city of the continent, Washington, catching step with the nation in its forward march, will increase its present extraordinary percentage of growth in population, and, leaving the quarter-million mark, will stride quickly to its primary goal of half a million.

Evidently the Washington of 1900, on its hundredth anniversary as the capital, enjoying during the last part of the century the tender regard of its guardian, the nation, will be viewed with pride and affection in Uncle Sam's household, and luxuriating in solicitous attention, much money and good laws, will forget as completely as it can the miseries of its early years, in which the members of the national family were disposed to pronounce it " a disappointment to its parents, a discredit to the fond opinions of its worthy god-fathers and god-mothers, and an eye-sore to all its relatives to the remotest degree of consanguinity."

At the Annual Banquet of the Board of Trade in 1891, Mr. Theodore W. Noyes responded to the toast, "The Centenary of Washington City," as follows:

As this double commemoration suggests, the American patent system and the District of Columbia narrowly escaped being twins. For several days, culminating to-night, we have eulogized the first of these approximate twins. We have ascribed the vast national advance of the century in large part to this birth of a century ago. We have ranked among the typical heroes of the age the wonder workers whom this infant, now grown to manhood, has fostered. We consider that no home at the capital, in marble or granite, can be too spacious or too handsome to be suitable for its accommodation. In short, we of Washington say to the inventors: We have praised your hundred-year-old infant and honored its birthday. There is reciprocity in these things. It is time that Columbia's baby was dandled and petted; and as one of the nurses of this infant to-night I propose that we give our baby a show.

THE DISTRICT A CENTURY AGO.

When the District corner-stone was laid, thriving Georgetown was its nucleus of settlement on one side of the river and Alexandria or Belle Haven on the other. The site of Washington itself, a plain, fringed by gradually sloping heights, was a series of pastures, marshes, patches of cultivated ground, and hills green with many trees. It was pleasing to the eye and well adapted to its destined purpose, but those sections now most desirable, both for business and residence purposes, were then the least attractive. The river front was the choicest portion of the city, if the opinions of the earliest purchasers are considered. Capitol Hill was a dense forest, scarcely touched by the woodman's axe. Pennsylvania avenue was a deep morass covered with alder bushes. Massachusetts avenue, in the now fashionable

northwest, was a bog, undrained in part, as late as 1862, in which year Anthony Trollope, the English novelist, waded along it knee-deep through snipe grounds. Upon this foundation the capital of to-day has been built—the modern Washington, the focus of national politics, the great gathering place of the people in conventions assembled, with its quarter of a million of population, rapidly increasing and spreading the capital over the whole of the present District; a city sustained, approved, and adorned by the annual expenditure of more than $5,000,000; with a clean and economical non-partisan municipal government, a marvel in this respect among great American cities; with surface remodeled; with more smooth streets than any other city in the world; with enterprising business houses, relieving Washington from dependence upon its great commercial neighbors; with manufactures, not imposing, but respectable, that caused Washington, according to the census of 1880, to rank among the twenty leading American cities; with manufacturing establishments that have more than doubled in number since 1880, notwithstanding the design has been to retain Washington's pre-eminence as a residence city by encouraging only light and clean manufacturing; with broad streets shaded for several hundred miles with nearly 70,000 trees, destined to make Washington the forest city; with attractive suburban drives, including those which traverse the recent grand acquisition of Rock Creek Park, with its winding stream and its wild and diversified scenery; with parks and reservations, given a picturesque beauty by shrubbery and abundance of foliage, statuary, fountains and flowers, and with costly dwellings, showing the most varied and pleasing architecture, springing up in rapid succession, where Trollope sunk knee-deep in mud.

IN TWENTY YEARS.

The greater part of this transformation has been accomplished within the last twenty years. The wretched condition of the capital for three-fourths of a century is attested by all descriptions. In connection with the gift to it of nearly

three-fourths of the soil of Washington, in order to sell lots carved from this gift, the nation promised that Washington should be the permanent seat of government, and pretended that this permanent capital would be improved at national expense without regard to the scanty population that would be at first attracted to it. Having secured this magnificent donation and pocketed the proceeds from the sale of lots the nation utterly failed to meet its promises. It frequently threatened to remove the capital, which meant, of course, the death of Washington. It practically abandoned the work of street improvement and capital-making to the scanty resident population. There was no wonder that the District grew slowly.

The nation has now returned half way to the original and appropriate idea of the federal city. This guardian, who for three-fourths of a century was unfaithful to his trust, now, without making the slightest restitution for the wrongs of the past, shares the expenses of the ward whom he equitably bound himself in the beginning to support—and some men call it charity! The people of the District are not subject to this or any other reproach upon their public spirit, so far as their relations to the nation are concerned. They have risked life and shed blood in every national war. They furnished the first volunteers, and supplied more troops in excess of their quota in the civil struggle than any state except one. They have paid their proportion of every national tax, direct and indirect. They have contributed in proportion to population far more than any other American community for national purposes. They gave to the nation five-sevenths of the soil of Washington—an acquisition pronounced by Jefferson "really noble." They thus supplied a fund from which most of the original public buildings were erected. Those that since then have been constructed at national expense are offset by attractive homes aggregating millions of dollars in value with which they have adorned the city and swelled its taxable property. Nearly all the work of street improvement and capital-making, which for

three-fourths of a century was done, was done by them. From 1790 to 1878, according to the report of a Secretary of the Treasury, they expended $14,000,000 more than the United States in this, the nation's task, in addition to $25,000,000 spent on local government, schools, and for other municipal purposes. Under this burden they worked themselves into virtual bankruptcy in 1835, and so in recreating the city after 1870 the main expense of the achievement was represented by the grievous debt of some $20,000,000. In both cases they took upon themselves national burdens, and were led by public-spirited motives, as the Senate committee reported in 1835, into expenditures which did not properly belong to them.

They are none the less public-spirited, patriotic citizens because they owe no allegiance to a state. Their city has planted the roots of its existence and prosperity in the spirit of American nationality, and has flourished as that spirit has been strong. For themselves, they are Americans or they are nothing; the people of No Man's land; men without a country. It is well for the nation that their Americanism is intense in proportion to its concentration, for that which lies next to the heart of the republic must be flesh of its flesh, pulsating with its warmest, richest life blood, or it will be a canker, collecting alien poisonous matter and eating at the nation's vitals.

THE DISTRICT'S SECOND CENTURY.

In the District's second century it will keep step in every respect with the progress of the nation; it will be the republic in miniature. In every branch of municipal development, whether attractiveness, health, trade, commerce, convenience, or comfort is the aim, the city will be made a model. With the republic's intellectual growth there will be a corresponding increase in the capital's importance as the brain centre from which influences in every branch of learning, in science and art, in education, in literature and politics, flow to every corner of the nation. The fact will

also be fully recognized that trees and parks and streets, and structures of granite and marble, do not alone suffice to constitute the ideal capital. There must be men full of the national spirit and fit, from favoring conditions, to show forth the American character in the blaze of the capital to the inspection of the world.

And when all possible wonders have been wrought in the inanimate capital its people will be considered. They will be relieved from the burden of ancient laws, utterly unfit for a modern community, that cling about their necks and choke them like the old man of the sea on the shoulders of Sinbad. Injurious discriminations in all respects will be removed. The District has been pronounced a state under the treaty with France, a construction conferring privileges on aliens, but not a state under the Constitution, whose people can sue in the federal courts. The Supreme Court of the United States says in express terms that we stand in a more unfavorable attitude toward the national judiciary than aliens. The District is a state when direct taxes are to be collected, but not a state when representatives are apportioned, though the Constitution couples the two things.

In the District's second century, when its population numbers half a million or a million, it will be not merely a state when burdens are imposed, but sometimes, at least, without radical change in the municipal government, a state when privileges are bestowed. In the good time to come the Washingtonian as well as Washington will be exalted. Nativity at the capital of the proud republic of ancient times was a world-wide honor. To be a Roman was to be greater than a king. Birth at the capital of the modern republic, far greater than that which ruled from the Seven Hills, will be the just cause of a profounder pride than that which found expression in the words, "I am a Roman."

SAID A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

The orator at the laying of the District corner-stone one hundred years ago petitioned and prophesied: "From this

stone may a superstructure arise whose glory, whose magnificence, whose stability, unequalled hitherto, shall astonish the world."

Upon the threshold of the District's second century we can do no better than to repeat this prayer and prophecy, so suggestive of the bright anticipations concerning the federal District which prevailed at its creation. We sometimes hear lofty reflections concerning the narrow views of the founders of the republic. In respect to the capital we shall do well if we fulfill the hopes, prophecies and anticipations of the forefathers and not prove narrower than they. It was their idea that Washington should be a federal city, developed by the nation and subject to its control; but it was not their idea that it should be without people. Its grand framework indicates the expectation of a large population. Washington's imagination covered the fair fields and wooded hills of his namesake city with the homes of a numerous, busy and happy people, a people not to outward appearance aliens, politically, and less than aliens judicially, but clothed with all American rights not absolutely inconsistent with the fostering control by the nation of the national capital. He predicted that the city of the nation a century thence, if the country kept united, would be, "though not as large as London, yet of a magnitude inferior to few others in Europe."

One hundred years ago a great mind conceived the idea of a statue of perfect symmetry and beauty. This idea was impressed upon the snowy whiteness of the heart of a huge block of marble and the statue's outlines lay hid beneath the stone's rough and discolored surface. For a century at intervals men have worked with drill and blast, with pick and chisel, to reach the heart of this rocky mass and to expose to sunlight and the eyes of men the perfect statue. Stroke by stroke the statue is uncovered. Inch by inch it rises in dazzling and perfect loveliness from all that is coarse and rude and ugly in the stone and earth of its surroundings, as the goddess of beauty rose in days of old from the rough gray surface of the ocean. The century-old ideal of Wash-

ington is fast becoming real, tangible, visible. It is for us of the republic's second century to give the finishing touches to the work designed one hundred years ago. Let no blundering chisel mar the delicate outlines of the developing statue whose beauty, half concealed, half exposed, assures to America and the world a perfect embodiment of the ideal capital.

Welcome G. A. R.

From the Washington Evening Star, September 19, 1892.

Washington greets the Grand Army of the Republic!

This is not the first time that the capital has warmly welcomed the soldiers of the Union. When in those anxious April days of incipient war Pennsylvania for the east with partly armed militia, and Minnesota for the west with a company of regulars hastened to reinforce the District volunteers in defense of the nation's city, all of loyal Washington gave hearty and grateful greeting to friends in need. When only a day later the volunteers of the sixth Massachusetts regiment, thoroughly organized and well equipped, forced their way with bloodshed through riotous Baltimore and entered the city with the marks of conflict in behalf of the capital still upon them, that enthusiastic welcome was repeated and redoubled. And when after a week of suspense and mortal apprehension, the capital saw the seventh New York regiment with glittering bayonets and flying flags march up Pennsylvania avenue to the inspiring sound of martial music it saluted these fine soldiers as the forerunners and representatives of the nation already in arms in its defense. Anxiety was swept away in an instant by this conclusive manifestation of the people's inflexible mandate: "The Union and the Union's city must and shall be preserved!" And the cheering of thousands, wild with joy, gave inadequate expression to the heartfelt welcome with which Washington greeted this advance guard from the vast army of its volunteer defenders. The scene was repeated when in 1864, Early threatened feebly-defended Washington, and Gen. Wright with two divisions of the sixth corps hastened in the very nick of time from the Potomac through the city to the relief of the menaced fortifications in the northern suburbs. And when at the close of the war the

Army of the Potomac and Sherman's army of the west marched in grand review on successive days up Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, through their deeds the assured capital of a united republic, saluted these heroes with waving flags and patriotic songs and enthusiastic cheering, and covered with garlands of flowers many participants in the great procession.

Now the soldiers of the Union again tread in martial array the streets of the capital and again Washington greets them with a welcome feebly and inadequately expressed in decorations, in illuminations, in music, in varied and hearty hospitality—a welcome which contains within itself the aggregated warmth and enthusiasm and gratitude of all these greetings of the past. As it gladly hailed its soldier visitors in detachments during the war, so now it rejoices to receive them in the mass through their representatives of the Grand Army. Protector and protected after the lapse of nearly thirty years salute each other, and naturally the handshaking is hearty, the welcome a royal one.

It is not alone, however, a natural gratitude for services rendered at the time of the war which causes Washington to be keenly appreciative of its present visitors. The soldiers did more than defend and preserve the capital. For this very labor of protection aroused a national interest in and regard for the thing protected, that had been hitherto lacking. The capital was not only saved, but since the war and through the war's influence it has been fostered and developed and made in appearance a seat of government worthy of the nation.

What the people fought for and defended the people came to love, and from this affection grew the determination to permit the capital to remain no longer a national humiliation but to cause it to become instead a source of national pride. Washington greets the Grand Army with double gratitude as its physical preserver against armed forces, and as the representative of that patriotic national sentiment, revived and nourished by the war, upon which the pros-

perity and even the very existence of the capital largely depend.

The veterans in their turn have reason to revisit with lively emotions the capital which they defended and to respond feelingly to the city's greeting. Washington was the focal point of the struggle. In the chess game of civil war the capital was the Union king, often checked, but never checkmated, threatened again and again by the enemy's queen, the fine Army of Northern Virginia under Lee, disturbed by the demonstrations and achievements of the adversary's Presbyterian bishop, Stonewall Jackson, and most seriously menaced by the eccentric and rapid movements of the enemy's cavalry knight. The soldier takes in the capital the natural interest in that for which he has fought, upon which his anxious thoughts have centered. Here, too, are individual associations. Here thousands were converted from raw recruits into soldiers, and camp and drill ground are to be eagerly revisited. Here thousands lay wounded in the hospitals, and the sites of these structures are clothed for many with sad but abiding associations. Here is the spot in the Capitol building where one spread his blanket; here is all that remains of the old fort in which many days full of pleasant and thrilling memories were spent; here is the house which opened wide its hospitable doors to another when dejected, weary, foot-sore and rain-drenched he dragged himself through the streets of Washington after the Bull Run disaster, and here is the magnificent avenue up which he marched amid the cheering of the people with troops to beat off the enemy from threatened Washington, or with 150,000 comrades in the joy and pride of final victory in the grand review. Here in the War Department and the museums are trophies and relics of the war; here are monuments to a number of the old commanders, and here, full of mournful interest, are the buildings associated with the assassination of the martyred President, cemeteries containing thousands of the soldier dead and tombs of such leaders as Sheridan and Logan.

In revisiting the sites of the extensive and costly fortifications which were constructed about Washington the veteran will find that the influences of peace have almost entirely conquered the formidable armament of war. The rain and the wind have crumbled the threatening piles of earth, nature has thrown over the signs of man's preparation for mortal combat a mantle of grass and vines, shrubs and bushes, and, if the sword has not been beaten into the plowshare, at least the woodwork of grimly menacing forts has been converted into fire wood or the building material of negro shanties. Upon the very spot occupied some thirty years ago by cannon the unconscious picnicking party may lunch with merrymaking.

The city itself then resounded with the tread of marching regiments, the rumble of supply wagons and of ambulances bearing the wounded or coffins wrapped in flags, the shrill sound of the fife, the roll of the drum and the roar of cannon at the navy yard artillery camp and the arsenal. Its encircling hills were dotted with white tents and floating flags, its public buildings were hospitals, soldiers' quarters or army provision depots. Mounted sentries were seen at the corners of the streets with drawn sabers, barracks appeared everywhere and military huts and military tents were pitched in the dust or mud of the unbuilt area. From the city, as well as from the forts, bristling with cannon, that crowned every eminence, all notable signs of belligerency have disappeared.

As at the capital, which is the nation in miniature, peace has conquered war, and the indications of hatred and combat and fratricidal bloodshed have been obliterated, so from the reunited nation itself, from the minds and hearts of men, may all traces of the prejudices and passions of the war be soon effaced!

It is not in the disappearance of military features alone that the veteran will note a change in Washington. At the outbreak of the war East Washington was in the main a broad expanse of barren plain. South from the Capitol were

hovels and brick kiln excavations. South Washington in general was an island cut off from the main city by a festering canal and the mall, which was then the lurking place of criminals. In the northwest beyond 7th street and between M and Boundary streets there were swamps and commons and patches of meadow. Cows, swine, goats and geese had the freedom of the city. Anthony Trollope, who visited Washington in 1862, like Tom Moore, Mrs. Trollope and Charles Dickens, who preceded him, gives an unfriendly but not imaginative description of the city. "Washington," he says, "is but a ragged, unfinished collection of unbuilt, broad streets, as to the completion of which there can now, I imagine, be but little hope. Of all places that I know it is the most ungainly and the most unsatisfactory." Trollope seems to have conceived an especial spite against Massachusetts avenue, which is now one of the finest residence streets in the city, and the vigor of his assaults justifies the suspicion that he was sent on some wild goose chase and found the mud of that street particularly disagreeable. "Massachusetts avenue runs the whole length of the city and is inserted on the maps as a full-blown street about four miles in length. Go there and you will find yourself not only out of town, away among the fields, but you will find yourself beyond the fields in an uncultivated, undrained wilderness. Tucking your trousers up to your knees you will wade through the bogs; you will lose yourself among wide hillocks; you will be out of the reach of humanity. * * * A stranger finds himself in the position of being sent across the country knee deep in mud, wading through snipe grounds, looking for civilization where none exists."

In place of the straggling country village, with zig-zag grades, no sewerage, unimproved reservations, second-rate dwellings, streets of mud and mire and wretched sidewalks, which the Union soldier and Anthony Trollope saw when Washington was a camp and hospital, there is now spread before our soldier visitors the magnificent city of to-day.

The capital, more than trebling its population since

1860, has not only built up its ragged collection of unfinished streets, and the bogs and swamps and commons that dotted and surrounded them, but has spread settlement over the then encircling heights on the northwest and northeast and the duty and responsibility of planning and developing a new Washington, more extensive in area than the original city, which shall not be inharmonious and discreditable when compared with the work of the forefathers, is imposed upon the legislators of to-day. The streets of depthless mud and blinding dust are now in large measure concreted and fringed with thousands of shade trees. In the matter of smooth streets the capital is foremost among the cities of the world. Broad Pennsylvania avenue, with its rough cobblestones of the war times, has been converted through the skillful use of asphalt into the finest parade street that any capital can boast, the veteran treads concrete instead of cobblestones, and when the work of erecting public buildings along it in accordance with the original plan, already revived and initiated, shall be fully accomplished, and its surroundings thus acquire suitable dignity and impressiveness, this historic avenue will rival in all respects the famous streets of the capitals of the old world, whether the boulevards of Paris, Unter den Linden in Berlin, the Ring Strasse of Vienna or Andrassy street in Buda-Pesth. Massachusetts avenue, where Trollope floundered in the mud, displays to-day as a specimen residence street of the modern Washington buildings of the most varied and attractive architecture. Without a street car at the outbreak of the war the District now has over a hundred miles of street railway, which promise soon to furnish through the general adoption of the best forms of improved motor, a model local rapid transit system to the capital. Then pumps and springs supplied the city with water; now through the great aqueduct, largely built while the war was in progress, the waters of the upper Potomac are lavished upon Washington. The then unfinished public buildings have been completed, and, with additional structures which have been

erected, adorn the city. The stub which represented the Washington monument has become the towering, impressive shaft of to-day. Intellectual progress has been as marked as material development, and Washington no longer a mere political camp ground, is becoming the educational, literary and scientific center of the republic. The reservations and parking, then neglected and unkempt, the browsing place of the cow and the wallowing place of the hog, have been improved and adorned, and now in a number of them the statues of men who were then struggling to save the Union and the capital, at the head of other men who are present here to-day, stand out in marble or bronze in a picturesque setting of flowers and rich foilage. Each veteran, as he beholds the present capital, may take to himself a share of credit for the change. For, as already indicated, the protection rendered by the nation to its capital and the national spirit revived by the war have caused the wonderful transformation. The relation of the soldiers to this development, which gives to the welcome of the city an additional degree of grateful warmth, may also inspire the veterans with a stronger, deeper pride in the beautiful city, which in its rudimentary stages they protected and preserved, and which in its present shape they helped directly and indirectly to create.

From its pitiable plight of thirty years ago the capital has become an object of interest, pride, and affection to Americans of all sections of the republic. In the cosmopolitan population of the modern city northerners, southerners, and westerners are mingled. The latter, not so very long ago in the dependent condition of residents of national territory, struggling for greater national attention to their affairs, and for more thoughtful consideration of their needs and grievances by a legislative body in which they had no real representation, and sensitively resenting misconceptions, born of sectional ignorance, concerning their resources, spirit, and tendency, can sympathize with a community whose present politically resembles in some respects their

past, and they should be able to legislate with peculiar wisdom and consideration for this bit of national soil, doing to the capital as they would that the nation had done unto them in the times that are gone.

But the strongest hold of the capital upon north and west—upon patriotic Americans everywhere—arises from the fact that it embodies the national idea. Washington was brought into being as peculiarly and exclusively the home and abiding place of the nation as distinguished from the states. Instead of selecting as the capital an existing city of some state, the nation determined to create a capital, which should be largely owned and exclusively controlled by the republic itself. With this purpose in view it acquired by gift title to five-sevenths of the soil of the city that it created, and reserved to itself by the organic law the constitutional power of exclusive legislation in this capital. It planned a magnificent city upon unimproved lands, and sold lots upon the implied agreement that the capital should be permanent and that the grand design on paper of the nation's city would be made a reality by the nation. The capital was the crystallization of the national idea, it was the substantial embodiment of the abstract Union, the materialization of a power superior to that of the state. It owes no divided allegiance to a state, arousing jealousies in the other states. It is the city of the nation, the whole nation.

The south is not excluded by any means from bonds of sympathy with the capital. The passing of slavery removes the point of greatest sensitiveness that was touched by the existence of a national city and no abstract view concerning the relations of state and nation needs to interfere longer with pride in and affection for the capital of the south, as well as of the north, and east, and west. The city was founded by southerners and the dangers that menaced its infancy were warded off by them. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Clay, Crawford, Calhoun and Jackson are on the first page of the list of the capital's friends. The west and north have supplied their full quota of notable names to this list, especially

since the war. The great men from all sections who have delighted to enroll themselves among those who have labored hardest to make the capital worthy of the republic, rebuke and put to shame the notion which seems to have gained some prevalence in Congress that the brains of legislators are not broad enough to consider thoughtfully both capital and national affairs, and that it is statesman-like therefore to disdainfully ignore the capital. There is no act of the forefathers which gives more convincing evidence of wise forethought than the creation and general design of the national city. What they planned the men of to-day are to fully carry out. There is in addition the new Washington that has sprung up outside of the original boundaries, which needs its George Washington, its Jefferson, its L'Enfant. If without loss of dignity and to their lasting credit Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson could throw themselves, as they did, enthusiastically into the labor of securing for the capital bridges across the Potomac, there is no statesman of to-day so great that he will not acquire new laurels by the performance of a similar and much-needed task for the present city. There can be no more ennobling and patriotic labor than that which associates one's name with those of the illustrious forefathers in developing and adorning the city of the Union, the nation in miniature, fostering the national sentiment, realizing the national aspiration, gratifying the national pride.

What is done for the capital is done for the nation and for the promotion of national sentiment. All three advance together. The national value of the true capital as a unifying patriotic influence is not to be disregarded or underrated. When the southerners seceded they left Washington with regret and looked forward to the predicted early date when they would return to legislate under the southern flag. They have returned to the city which southerners founded, protected and loved, and they legislate under the southern flag—the flag of the Union—south, north, east and west. And many of them thank God to-day that it is so. They

are here not as captives in a strange city, but as prodigals returned to a home, the house of their forefathers, rich in associations both joyful and pathetic, standing upon land in which they have an interest, and governed exclusively by the Union, of which they are a part. In Washington every American is at home, whether the pine, the cypress or the cottonwood grew above him. Here is the altar of American patriotism, not to be approached under the scriptural injunction without reconciliation with our brother of the south, or north, or east, or west. At Washington all Americans come together on equal terms with a common interest. The west learns the east, the north the south and vice versa. All sections are bound more closely together. Prejudices are softened and gradually removed. National sentiment dominates, the American spirit is developed and patriotism is strengthened. In the national crucible sectional jealousies and hatred are removed and the pure gold of American patriotism remains.

George Washington foresaw this unifying, nationalizing function of the capital, and for that reason proposed to locate in it the national university which he projected. Here, he said, the susceptible youth of the land, in the atmosphere of the nation's city and viewing the workings of the general government, would be impressed with a love of our national institutions, counteracting both foreign influences and sectional sentiments. The university of which he dreamed was never born, but, carrying out his idea on a grander scale, the capital has itself become a national university, in which all Americans are students, for the promotion of liberal, enlarged and patriotic Americanism, teaching love of country and making of all of us better citizens.

Superstition and tradition have associated the fate of more than one of the great nations of the world with that of some material object.

> "While stands the Colosseum Rome shall stand,
> When falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall."

The future of the empire built on physical force is in

fancy intertwined with the fate of the vast structure in which exhibitions of that force in the bloody contests of gladiators and the slaughter of martyrs were habitually displayed. It may be that our republic has its material symbol. The close relation between the nation's city and the patriotic national sentiment has been noted. Washington is not merely the republic's political heart, from which the influences flow that determine the destiny of the nation. It is also the soul of the Union as an entity, forbidding the idea that the republic has no higher life than that of a mere hodge-podge of states. At once the bond and token of union the nation's city and the spirit of American nationality are entertwined. The former flourishes as the latter is strong. It sickened when that influence controlled which negatived the national idea and viewed the state as supreme. It again revived when civil war developed the patriotic national sentiment and Americans learned that the Union is a substantial something to love, to live for and to die for. The bloodshed of the Revolution gave birth to the spirit of nationality and created the city; the bloodshed of the civil war revived the spirit and regenerated the city. Sincere and enthusiastic love of country is what keeps alive the modern republic and gives it prosperity and glory. Both capital and nation have planted the roots of their existence in this patriotic sentiment. The Union and its peculiar residence and part property, hallowed by every association which can keep patriotism alive, rest upon the same supports. The imagination can readily conceive that the spirit of nationality, the soul of the Union, is enshrined in this exclusive territory, and that if ever its peculiar existence shall be extinguished the event will be a forerunner of the dissolution of the Union.

All through the doubtful stages of the civil struggle the sound of the busy workman's tools was heard in the Capitol building, cheering evidence of the national confidence in the result of the warfare, and the cannon from miles of forts announced the finishing touches to the magnificent dome

which poises and floats lightly in the air its white lines of curving, swelling beauty. As this mighty dome, crowned by Liberty, grew into marvelous loveliness amid the turmoil and din of war about it, so the patriotic sentiment developed in beauty and power from the cannon smoke and bloodshed of the civil struggle. While the nation's city and its Capitol with freedom-surmounted dome endure the republic will stand, for the patriotic sentiment, " the fine, strong spirit of nationality " endures also, the foundation of the existence of both.

Our symbol of national unity and perpetuity is not a ruin, telling of the decay of the rule of force and of the overthrow of the unquestioned supremacy of men of blood and iron, but a living, growing, developing city, typifying the vitality, continued prosperity and grand destiny of the republic which it shows forth in miniature and which it is destined forever to reflect. In exact accordance with the progress of the nation, Washington, where beats the pulse of the republic's heart blood, will develop. Inevitably, therefore, it will be, not in the corruption of ancient capitals, but in republican simplicity of morals, in every phase of intellectual advancement and in every outward material attraction the greatest among the great capitals of the world.

The soldiers of the Grand Army of the Republic are passing away. Year by year the number of those able to respond in the body at a muster fast decreases. Year by year Valhalla claims an increasing host. Soon the last veteran will be gathered to his companions in arms.

But while the republic itself endures the Grand Army of the Republic can not die. The distinguishing and abiding feature of the Grand Army is not the fact of war, of fratricidal bloodshed, but the enthusiastic, dominating love of country which drove thousands into unaccustomed war as by a common, irresistible impulse. This spirit is imperishable and will inspire the youth of a new grand army, proud of the deeds of their fathers and forefathers, to whatever may be accomplished for their country from love of country.

If war with a foreign aggressor calls Americans to defence of the republic sons and successors will take the places of the disappearing veterans and emulate in battle the patriotism, courage, and endurance of the soldiers whom we greet to-day. If no war threatens—which may God grant!—the grand army of peace will take the field, enlisting the youth of America in defence of the republic against the national perils of avarice and corruption, and calling upon them for the same patriotic bravery and persistence in well-doing that is displayed by the soldier against an armed foe.

The undying patriotic spirit of the Grand Army will live in the hearts and minds of all true Americans, hardening their muscles for war in a righteous cause and developing for peaceful times another Grand Army by which blows equally effective shall be delivered against evils that menace the republic, the creed of whose soldiers shall be that it is sweet and pleasant both to live and die for one's country.

To-day the Union's city and the Union's army clasp hands in the warm, fraternal greeting of kindred and sympathetic natures, issuing from a common source, both born of patriotic Americanism, both material manifestations of the spirit of American nationality.

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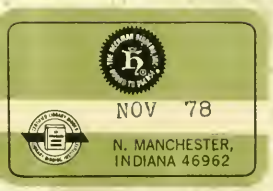
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